ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF EGYPT

EDITED BY F. L. GRIFFITH, B.A., F.S.A.

EL BERSHEH

PART II.

BY

F. L. GRIFFITH, B.A., F.S.A., AND PERCY E. NEWBERRY, M.R.A.S.

WITH APPENDIX, PLANS AND MEASUREMENTS OF THE TOMBS

BY

G. WILLOUGHBY FRASER, F.S.A.

WITH TWENTY-THREE PLATES

SPECIAL PUBLICATION OF THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND.

LONDON:

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THE OFFICES OF THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND, 37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, W.C.,

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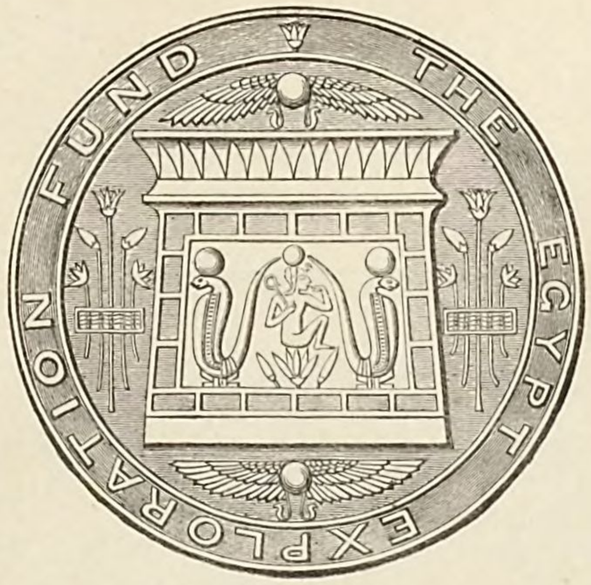
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PREFACE.

The present volume completes the survey of the monuments of the Middle Kingdom at El Bersheh. It contains the description of nine inscribed tombs, that of Tehutihetep (Tomb No. 2) having formed the subject of Part I. of the Memoir.

None of the tombs described in this volume approach that of Tehutihetep either in general elegance or in delicacy of detail; but, to illustrate the style of painting some fragments from Tomb No. 1 (Tehutinekht) have been reproduced in colour: for the drawings of these, executed with the greatest fidelity to the originals, we have to thank Miss Paget. Two samples of architectural colouring from the same tomb (in pl. v.) are from fac-similes by Mr. Blackden. The outline plates are the work of Mr. Newberry; the plans and survey are chiefly due to Mr. Fraser, whose report on the El Bersheh valley (the Wady Dêr en-Nakhleh) is printed as an Appendix to the Memoir.

The scenes and inscriptions from these tombs are almost entirely unpublished, and the graffiti of Het-nub, dealt with here by way of illustration, have not before been transliterated or translated. The texts being extremely difficult, the translations are only tentative. The descriptions are the joint work of Mr. Griffith and Mr. Newberry; for the Introduction Mr. Griffith alone is responsible.

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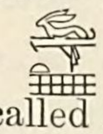
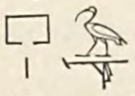
EL BERSHEH.

PART II.

I. INTRODUCTION.

A CAREFUL survey of any ancient site in Egypt is generally rewarded with plenty of new discoveries, and the work of the Archæological Survey at El Bersheh has been no exception to the rule. One painted scene, that of the Colossus on the Sledge,[1] had made the place famous early in the century, but its context and the remainder of the scenes in the tomb of Tehutihetep were almost wholly unknown, while only one of the other inscribed tombs was on record, having been described by Prof. Sayce in 1890.[2] It was even difficult to discover the situation of the tombs on any map.

We now offer to our subscribers a detailed map of the tomb-valley at El Bersheh (called by the natives Wady Dêr en-Nakhleh),[3] and a complete view of the tombs of the Middle Kingdom contained in it, while only a few less important monuments of other periods are reserved to accompany similar matter from various sites in a future volume. Nor must we omit to mention here the discovery of the quarries of Het-nub as a direct result of the Society's survey, since their inscriptions have afforded us the most welcome light on the history of the personages dealt with in the following pages.

Like the tombs at Beni Hasan, those of El Bersheh are chiefly of nomarchs who lived under the Middle Kingdom. Their province was known as the Hare nome,  Unt in Egyptian, and their capital was called Khmenu , Unu , or  Per-Tehuti (house of Thoth), names that are, however, not quite convertible.[4] By the Greeks this city was called Hermopolis, from the god Thoth or Hermes, whose principal shrine was there. The site of Khmenu is easily recognisable in the extensive mounds of Eshmûnên, lying in the middle of the Nile valley, a little north of the latitude of El Bersheh. The limits of the

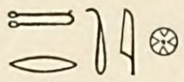
[1] *El Bersheh*, Pt. I., pl. xv.

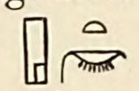
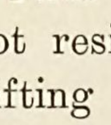
[2] Prof. Maspero added to this publication some inscriptions copied by Nestor de l'Hôte in a third tomb, but believed them to belong to the same.

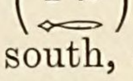
[3] There is no need to change the well-known name of this group of tombs, El Bersheh being in the immediate neighbourhood.

[4] Khmenu is the commonest name, being frequently found in the titles of Thoth: Per-Tehuti often occurs in a priestly title. Unu is perhaps a "profane" name, as opposed to the "sacred" name Khmenu, but the latter is the origin of the Coptic and Arabic names: both occur together in the graffiti of Het-nub, i. and viii. (see pl. xxii. and pp. 48 and 52).

nome are uncertain, but at least we know that while the tombs of Sheikh Sa'îd and El Bersheh lay within it, those of Beni Hasan and Mêr belong to its neighbours on the north and south. Both of its cemeteries are in the eastern cliffs, but the nome must have stretched right across the valley, for in Ptolemy's Geography we find it reduced to a territory on the west side, the eastern portion having been taken from it by Hadrian to form the new nome of Antinoë. That a division of it into East and West existed in early times, for certain purposes, is shown by the inscriptions accompanying the scene of the colossus in Tomb No. 2, in which the troops of the East and those of the West of the Hare nome are mentioned separately.[1] Its northern limit we may perhaps place at the corner of the East cliff, between Sheikh Timay and Sheikh Abâdeh; its southern near Bâwît. It would thus have comprised a length of about thirty miles of the valley.

The inscriptions of our nomarchs constantly refer to Khmenu under its various names. Another place-name is  Thereta, believed to be identical with the modern Dêrût. It is found only once, as the town or village to which the colossal statue of Tehutihetep was dragged; in or near it was the palace (?) of Tehutihetep, called "Tehutihetep firm in favour," with the information that it was "in the Hare nome."[2]

We know not what other towns or villages existed in the province: with Antinoë and Akhenaten's capital at Tell el Amarna we have no concern at this period. But the nomarchs drew wealth also from the desert. There they hunted wild animals on a grand scale, and thence the Bedawîn brought in supplies of precious frankincense and of *kohl* for the eyes;[3] above all, far away in the desert behind Tell el Amarna, the princes of the Hare nome commanded a most plentiful source of the finest oriental alabaster or arragonite. The fame of the quarries of Het-nub  was spread throughout Egypt from the earliest times. Una tells us that he obtained thence the alabaster altar for the pyramid of King Merenra at Memphis,[4] and in the XVIIIth Dynasty Thothmes III. dedicated an altar "of clear *shes*-stone  of Het-nub" to Amen in his great temple at Karnak.[5] The inscriptions in the quarries themselves, and in the tombs of El Bersheh, indicate how frequent were the expeditions for alabaster sent thither during the Middle Kingdom.

The nomarchs of the Old Kingdom were buried at Sheikh Sa'îd, almost directly opposite to the city of Khmenu; those of the Middle Kingdom, distinguishable at once by the peculiar title of "great chief  of the nome," went somewhat further south, and in course of time their tombs adorned the north side of the valley of Dêr en-Nakhleh in profusion. The ruin of these monuments is grievous to see. Before Egypt became a Greek kingdom, the quarrymen had cut away their façades and pierced deep into the solid hill behind.[6] Thus undermined, the upper strata could not resist the shocks of earthquake, and, shifting many inches down the slope, ground and shattered the walls beneath them. The tombs remained in this condition

[1] *El Bersheh*, Pt. I., p. 21.

[2] Thereta, *l.c.* p. 22; the palace, p. 23.

[3] Hunting, *l.c.* pl. vii., p. 13; frankincense and kohl, below, p. 46. Compare the famous scene of bringing kohl to Khnemhetep in *Beni Hasan*, Part I., pl. xxx. (associated with a hunting scene).

[4] Petrie, *History*, p. 95; E.E.F. *Archæological Report*, 1893-4, p. 17.

[5] Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, v., p. 1187, compare Champollion, *Monuments*, iv., pl. cccxvii., where, however, the inscription on the figure of the altar is omitted; see also Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, pp. 319, 320.

[6] See Mr. Fraser's Report, below, p. 60.

for many centuries, until their re-discovery in 1817 by a party of Europeans, amongst whom was the indefatigable Bankes; and for many years later, during which they were visited by numerous artists and savants—Ricci, Bonomi, Arundale, Nestor de l'Hôte, Lepsius, Wilkinson, Sayce, and Major Brown—all of whom took notes of great value. It was not until 1890 that the destroying hand again came upon them—this time in the shape of a native prospector for antiquities, who did not scruple to cut out many square feet of scenes or inscriptions in order to secure a few inches for sale, or simply to hack what he did not care to take away. The same scourge visited many neighbouring localities, and the memory of it will never be effaced from the minds of Egyptologists and lovers of antiquity. Two years later our surveyors arrived at the spot, cleared the tombs so far as they could without risk of causing further collapses, and by sorting the *débris* recovered the fragments that the early quarrymen had spared but the earthquake had thrown down. To their collections we have added all the information we could glean from the older copies, whether published or in manuscript. It will be observed that the copies of what remain are not exhaustive throughout, but we now have a record more or less complete of almost everything that can exist there in the way of scenes and inscriptions: as to the older collections, we may, perhaps, hope for some further light from the MSS. of Lepsius and of Rosellini, the publication of which may be looked for shortly under the auspices of the German and Italian Governments.[1]

[1] For details of work done at various times at El Bersheh see Part I., pp. 3-5. With regard to the tombs described in this volume, we have only to record that Nestor de l'Hôte copied one scene and the inscription on the lintel of Tomb No. 5 (below, p. 31 ff.), that Prof. Sayce copied many of the inscriptions in Tomb No. 8, and that Major Brown took photographs of an important inscription in the latter. Major Brown's negative of the scene of the Colossus in Tomb No. 2 (Part I., p. 5), which we believed to be lost, is happily in the possession of Miss Brodrick, a lady well known in England by her writings on Egypt. (See also p. 46.)

The inscribed tombs of the Middle Kingdom[2] at El Bersheh are excavated on the north side of the Wady Dêr en-Nakhleh, beginning at the corner which looks south-west, and continuing eastwards on the same contour; the last three in the following list, however, are on a lower level, close together, in front of Tomb No. 5.[3]

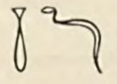
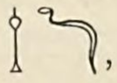
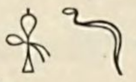
Tomb No. 1.—Tomb of the nomarch Tehutinekht son of Nehera; his mother's name is Satuazhetep or Satuzhetep,[4] and his wife was Hathorhetep born of Tehutihetep. A *wazîr* is also mentioned, but his name is lost.

Tomb No. 2.—Tomb of the nomarch Tehutihetep son of Kay son of Nehera; his mother's name is Satkheperka, his wife's Hathorhetep. A multitude of names of relatives and subordinates are also given; of these we may note Sep, Nekht, Aha and Ahanekht amongst the males, Satuzhetep and Uazkaus amongst the females, all bearing these names being subordinates (or their mothers).

Tomb No. 3.—The remains mention "a nomarch and *wazîr*," whose name is lost, and the "eldest son" Sep born of Uazkaus, with his brothers Tehutihetep,

[2] This term needs definition. In the Old Kingdom we comprise the whole of the Memphite dynasties down to the VIIIth, the two last being at present mere names. The Middle Kingdom commences with two dynasties of Heracleopolite kings (according to Manetho), who either overcame the Memphites or rose on the ruins of the Egyptian monarchy. It appears that after a short period of comparative prosperity, the Heracleopolite kings found themselves in conflict with the South country; the XIth Dynasty of Theban kings asserted their independence, and eventually ruled the whole of Egypt. The XIIth Dynasty, though connected with Thebes, removed its capital to a more central situation, either at Memphis or a little south of it, and inaugurated a much more vigorous rule than had been known in Egypt since the VIth Dynasty. The Middle Kingdom comprises also the following dynasties to the end of the Hyksos period, but the inscribed tombs at El Bersheh end before the termination of the XIIth Dynasty.

[3] See pl. iii.

[4] The variant of  for ,  in this tomb shows that we have here to give to  and even to  the value of *uz* instead of *ḥez*. This must also be the case in Tomb No. 2.

Aha and Ahanekht. Sep was royal scribe and scribe of the Hare nome.

Tomb No. 4.—Fragments give the name of Nehera born of Kema, with those of his two eldest sons Kay and Tehutinekht.

Tomb No. 5.—Tomb of the nomarch and *wazîr* Ahanekht son of Tehutinekht.

Tomb No. 6.—A single fragment names Tehutinekht born of Ankh.

Tomb No. 7.—Tomb of the "great *uab*-priest of Thoth," Nehera.

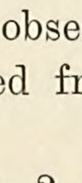
Tomb No. 8.—The inscriptions commemorate two persons, the nomarch Ahanekht and the steward of the royal harîm Aha, who "has made his tomb at the foot of his lord."

Tomb No. 9.—A fragment of the lintel gives the name Khnem(?)nekht.

Tomb No. 10.—The inscriptions commemorate the nomarch Ahanekht and a personage Tehutinekht.

Our principal task in this Introduction is to determine the age or succession of the tombs, in order to estimate their historical significance.

The position of the last three immediately beneath Tomb No. 5, their diminutive size, and the prominent position accorded to Ahanekht in Tombs Nos. 8 and 10, combined with the statement in Tomb No. 8 that Aha had made his tomb at the foot of his lord, show at once that they are tombs of subordinates of the great nomarch and *wazîr* Ahanekht, who was buried in Tomb No. 5. This observation reduces the problems to be solved from ten to seven.

Unfortunately, only Tomb No. 2, that of Tehutihetep, contains royal names. Its columnar portico proclaims the XIIth Dynasty, and the cartouches within it extend from Amenemhat II. to Usertesen III. With regard to the others, we may first lay down the rule that the nomarchs who call themselves  are all of the Middle Kingdom, that title being first found under the Heracleopolite Dynasties (IX.-X.).[1] This test is at once responded to wherever it can be applied in the above list. Further, when one examines the groups of tombs that exist in the local cemeteries of Egypt, it is readily seen that in general the finest or most pretentious sepulchre in each group is also the latest, at any rate amongst those of equals in rank. Although it is not easy in their shattered condition to state much positively as to their size or style, we may perhaps learn something about the relative ages of the tombs of El Bersheh from a consideration of the principle just enunciated. There are no signs of a columnar portico, excepting in Tomb No. 2. The others had doubtless much plainer façades, and are therefore probably earlier. The large tomb of Ahanekht was excavated for a man of unusual distinction, and therefore need not be later than the inferior ones around it. Its façade, indeed, can best be compared to that of the IXth or Xth Dynasty tomb of Khety at Asyût; but we know hardly anything of the differences of style in this respect during the Middle Kingdom. It is very unfortunate that at El Bersheh all the rest of the façades are utterly destroyed. The absence of the *kheker* ornament from Tomb No. 5 and the related group Nos. 8-10 is a sign of early date.

Personal names often afford a clue as to age. The only personal names of the Heracleopolite dynasties that are thoroughly well ascertained are two, Khety and Tefab, the former of which must have been very prevalent then, and continued to be commonly used throughout the Middle Kingdom, though hardly known at any earlier period. The prevalence of names compounded with *nekht* at El Bersheh may be in favour of a rather later date—not before the XIth Dynasty.

So far, then, we have but one fixed point of age, in the tomb of Tehutihetep; the remainder of the tombs we are inclined to place earlier, but we can assert no more than that most of them, if not all, belong to the Middle

[1] The principal monuments known to be of the Heracleopolite period are certain tombs at Asyût, numbered 3, 4, and 5, in Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*.

Kingdom. We will now see what genealogies can do towards removing this vagueness. The tombs generally furnish us with the name of the occupant's father or mother; in that of Tehutihetep we find a record of no less than four generations, yet a reconstruction of the genealogy from the evidence of the tombs (shown above, pp. 3, 4) seems hopeless.

Besides the tombs, however, there are some other records of these princes of the Hermopolite nome in the inscriptions of the alabaster quarries of Het-nub.[1] It is easy to select from Messrs. Blackden and Fraser's important collection of graffiti from this place the names resembling or identical with those in the tombs.

The following is a list of such:—

Gr. I.—Great *uab*-priest [of Thoth] Tehutinekht, born of Tehutihetep.

II.—[prince of the Hare nome?] Ahanekht, his son Khnemater (year 20?).

VII.—*Wazîr* and prince of the Hare nome, Kay son of Nehera son of Tehutinekht son of Kay (year 5).

VIII.—The same as the last (year 7).

IX.—Prince of the Hare nome, Nehera born of Kema (year 7, with an official named Utemkhet).

X.—Superintendent of priests, Amenemhat born of Sat-uz(?)-hetep and son of Nehera son of Kay (year 31 of Usertesen I.).

XI.—Prince of the Hare nome, Nehera born of Kema (year 6).

XII. Great *uab*-priest of Thoth, Tehutinekht son of Nehera son of Tehutinekht son of Kay.

Gr. XIII.—[prince of the Hare nome] Ahanekht (year 4?): scribe, name uncertain.

XIII. (*b*)—Superintendent of the fields, Tehutinekht son of Khnemater: his son Tehutinekht-ankh.

XIV.—Prince of the Hare nome, Nehera born of Kema (year 8).

XV.—8. Tehutihetep son (?) of Tehutihetep.

9. Prince of the Hare nome, Tehutinekht son of Tehutinekht.

12. Chief artificer, Ameny son of Sep, under King Usertesen III.

We must first call attention to the remarkable way in which the filiation is indicated in the hieratic graffiti. Not only does the name of the father invariably precede that of the son, as is commonly the case in inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom, but the sign of filiation  "son" is entirely omitted except in No. X., so that the names, even up to four in succession, are simply placed end to end. It appears from the unpublished papyri which Mr. Petrie discovered at Kahun that this again was customary in hieratic of the period.

Another phenomenon is more important. Of the long graffiti only one, No. X., the peculiarities of which, perhaps, indicate a difference of age, is dated in the reign of a king. All those of Kay and Nehera born of Kema are specifically dated in years of their own nomarchship, and the two of Ahanekht are undoubtedly dated on the same principle, though no title, or at most a very brief one, was specified. This is not the only respect in which these nomarchs emulated kings; they also applied to themselves the phrases, "life, prosperity and health!" and "living for ever to eternity." Further, in ancient Egypt oaths were almost invariably sworn by the life of the king; but while Amenemhat in Gr. X. invokes king Usertesen, the scribe of Gr. IX. swears to the truth of his statement by the "life of Nehera." In the graffiti bearing the name of Tehutinekht, "the great *uab*-priest of Thoth," royal epithets are assumed, but there is no pretence to the right of dating.

[1] These quarries, first visited by Mr. Newberry in 1891, were included in Prof. Petrie's survey of Tell el Amarna, and are briefly but instructively described in his memoir on that site. The graffiti were carefully copied by Messrs. Blackden and Fraser, to the former of whom belongs the credit of discovering the name of Het-nub in them. Mr. Fraser has also contributed some useful notes on the quarries and their inscriptions to the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* (vol. xvi., p. 73, ff.). Nearly all the inscriptions published in Messrs. Blackden and Fraser's *Collection of Hieratic Graffiti from the Alabaster Quarries of Hat-nub* were found in the larger quarry.

The style of writing in Ahanekht's graffiti approaches that of the VIth Dynasty, and must be considerably earlier than the others, all of which are written in one style, except that of Amenemhat. The abandonment by the last-named of all semi-royal pretensions, and his references to king Usertesen, show that a change had taken place in the relations between king and nomarch. It is natural that the strong hand of the monarchs who founded and established the XIIth Dynasty should have made itself felt early amongst the nobles.

A faint trace of the right of dating by nomarchship is seen in the inscription on the façade of the tomb of Ameny or Amenemhat at Beni Hasan. With all loyalty Ameny caused the date of his entombment (?) to be written according to the regnal year of Usertesen I.; but in a second line he gives the coincident year of his nomarchship, thus showing how long he had ruled the nome. Such a record upon a tomb would be innocent enough at any period, but its occurrence in this form shows that it is a unique survival of what we now perceive to have been the practice of Ameny's predecessors.

From the above considerations it will be seen that the graffiti of the Middle Kingdom at Het-nub fall into three groups belonging to successive periods.

(*a*) Ahanekht.
(*b*) Nehera, Kay, Tehutinekht.
(*c*) Amenemhat.

The genealogies can now be considered. With regard to those that are recorded in the quarry inscriptions, it is to be noted that the repetition of the same names at different points in the family history has led the scribe to identify the individuals with care, going back sometimes four generations on the father's side. At other times the mother's name alone was considered a sufficiently distinctive mark. The lines that are preserved are as follows:—

(1) From the regnally dated inscription (Gr. X.)—

Kay
|
Nehera = Satuzhetep *
|
Amenemhat

This gives us at once the place of Tehutinekht in Tomb No. 1, whose family is—

Nehera = Satuzhetep * ..... = Tehutihetep *
| |
Tehutinekht = Hathorhetep

Tehutinekht, prince of the Hare nome, was thus brother of the high officer Amenemhat, whose inscription is dated in the thirty-first year of Usertesen I.

(2) From the inscriptions (Gr. VII. and VIII.) of the nome prince Kay and (Gr. XII.) of the great *uab*-priest Tehutinekht, each having the same descent—

Kay
|
Tehutinekht
|
Nehera
|
Kay Tehutinekht

There are reasons for doubting whether the great *uab*-priest Tehutinekht born of Tehutihetep in Gr. I. is identical with that of Gr. XII.

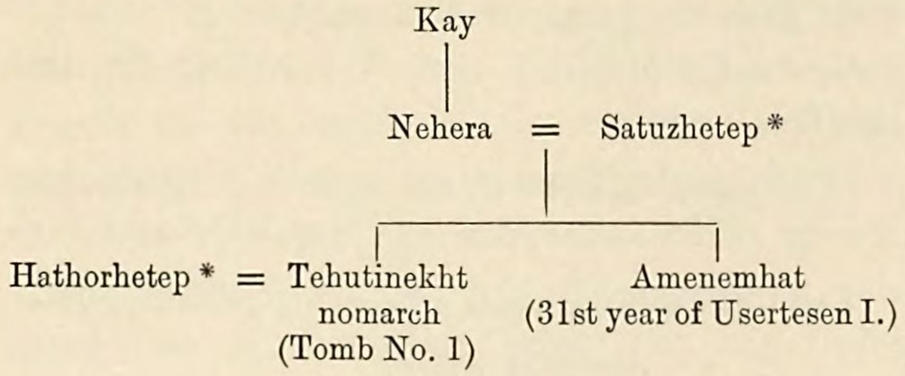
Nehera "born of Kema," whose two eldest sons Kay and Tehutinekht are mentioned in his tomb, is identifiable at once in this genealogy, and we are thus further enabled to assign several quarry-inscriptions of the same Nehera (Gr. IX., XI. and XIV.) to their proper place.

It is also tempting to fit in here the genealogy of the nome-prince Tehutihetep as given in Tomb No. 2, briefly—

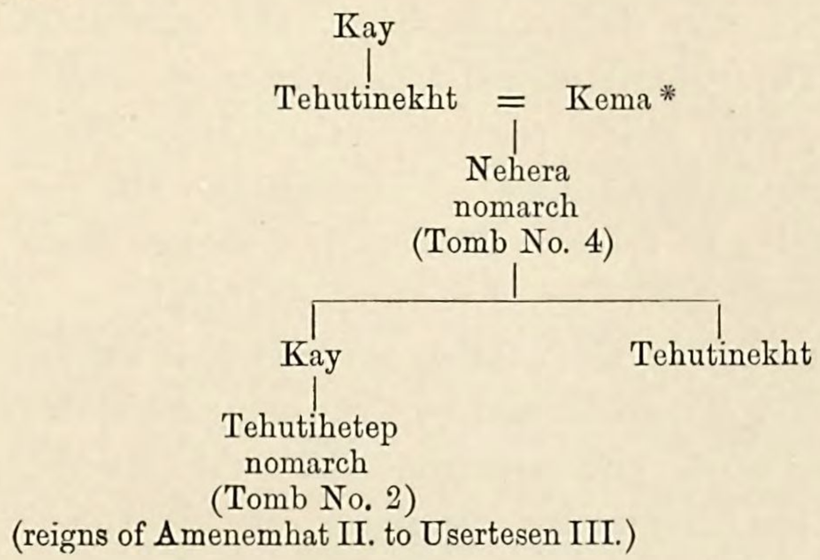
Nehera = ...
|
Kay = Satkheperka *
|
Tehutihetep

Our two lines as expanded would then stand:—

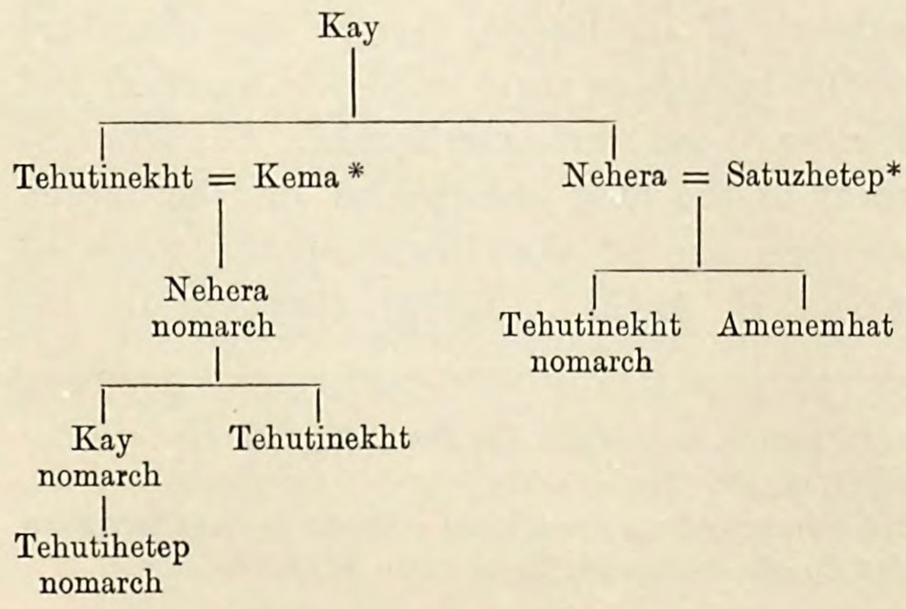
(1) From the graffito of Amenemhat with Tomb No. 1—



(2) From the graffiti of Nehera born of Kema, Kay and Tehutinekht (Gr. VII., VIII., IX., XI., XII., XIV.) with Tombs Nos. 2 and 4—



There would then be little doubt that the Kay who heads each of these lines was a common ancestor carefully recorded, who would fall about the time of the reorganization of the country by Amenemhat I., and so would be a probable starting-point for genealogies.



This reconstruction would be nearly satisfactory; it also introduces us to few personages who have no other warrant for their existence. There are, however, two weak points about it —the position of one of the nomarchs, Tehutinekht of Tomb No. 1, quite outside the regular succession, without any explanation; and the assignment of all these princes to the period of the XIIth Dynasty, whereas the *primâ facie* evidence of the monuments would indicate an earlier date for several of them.

To piece together a long genealogy is a most interesting, but sometimes a baffling puzzle. Mr. Newberry paid great attention to the present problem from the first, and lately sent me from Egypt (without note or comment) a most ingeniously constructed table, which, with some minor modifications, stands every genealogical and historical test that I can bring to bear upon it. The key of this lies in boldly detaching Tehutihetep's genealogy from its apparently accurate "fit" in the line No. 2, and making Tehutihetep's father Kay a third son of Nehera, along with Tehutinekht and Amenemhat. We can then place the two lines simply end to end, Kay, who heads No. 1, being identified with the important personage, the *wazîr* Kay, who appears at the end of No. 2.

A closer examination of the quarries may possibly give us some new evidence, but I should be exceedingly surprised if it were found to favour the double-line genealogy as opposed to the straighter line, which I now adopt with confidence, and on which I shall proceed to classify the monuments. Almost the only visible objection to it is that it adds more nomarchs to the number of those whose tombs cannot be found, but this is of small weight.

The Ahanekht-Tehutinekht family was doubtless part of the ancestry of the Kay-Nehera-Tehutinekht-Tehutihetep family, but belongs to an early period, and cannot be definitely at-

tached to it by genealogies. Various members of it restored the tombs "of their ancestors" who belonged to the VIth Dynasty, so it is evident that they claimed for their family a long history in the nome.

We will now consider in detail the monuments and records that can be attributed to those princes of the Hare nome who belong to the Middle Kingdom.

I. Ahanekht-Tehutinekht Family.

In the absence of definite information, we may class in this vague family or group all the names that one may suspect to be early and which are not readily attached to the second family. Three quarry inscriptions (Gr. II., XIII. and XIII.*b*) and several tombs (Nos. 5 and 8-10, and perhaps No. 6) may be assigned here. Unfortunately little or nothing can be learnt as to the succession and identity of the persons named in the different records.

The first of the graffiti so far as it is decipherable is as follows:—

"Year 29 (?) of the *ha*-prince (?) Ahanekht: his son Khnemater. Says the scribe Khnemater: I am a scribe of choice, cool of body, subduing the flame of desire ..... I came along to bring ..... by the health of (?) Ahanekht."

The last phrase I suppose to be an oath. Another jotting is apparently connected with the last:—

"I caused to be conveyed 600 (?) stones for the temple of Thoth, lord of Khmenu."

Gr. XIII.:—

"Year 4? (20?).
The prince, regulator of the two thrones ..... great chief of the Hare nome (?) ..... of the greatness of the love which Thoth Lord of Khmenu bore to him Aha[nekht?].
[N.....] says: "I am an excellent scribe ..... who goes down and sails up to every place; when I went down (northward) I reached ..... ; when I returned thence, my face was prepared, I had accomplished my mission.....
Moreover, I was one beloved of his master, praised of his city: I did not oppress (?) any man, I did not despise (?) the miserable."

After several indistinct lines the inscription ends with the name of Ahanekht.

Gr. XIII.*b* (does not this belong to the last?):—

"The superintendent of the corn-land Tehutinekht son of Khnemater: his son Tehutinekht-ankh."

From these we obtain a possible genealogy:—

Ahanekht nomarch
|
Khnemater scribe
|
Tehutinekht scribe of corn-land
|
Tehutinekht-ankh

and we may deduce, perhaps, the conclusion that two princes named Ahanekht reigned each for several years, the inscriptions being dated in their nomarchships. Unfortunately the bad condition of these graffiti renders almost every statement with regard to them doubtful.

Turning to the tombs, we have first the interesting group formed by the roomy sepulchre of the *wazîr* and nomarch Ahanekht (No. 5), and the diminutive chambers of his subordinates (Nos. 8-10) immediately below. The turbulent times from the IXth to the XIth Dynasties were not favourable to display, but Ahanekht's tomb must have been one of the most considerable in the whole group, as befitted the monument of the first officer of his time in the realm; and it still preserves a good deal of its character, thanks to the comparative entirety of its façade, though the chambers within have been most ruthlessly quarried and further ruined by the earthquake. The arrangement of the long inscriptions on the façade reminds one of the Heracleopolite tomb of Khety at Asyût.[1] Inside there is an in-

[1] Tomb iv. in Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dér Rîfeh*, pl. xiv. The door was destroyed early in this century, but a drawing from the original is shown in the *Description de l'Égypte, Antiquités*, Tome v., pl. 49, fig. 6.

dication of a remarkable architectural device in the paintings, the corners of the outer chamber having been represented as supported by lotus columns, emblematic of the South; those of the inner chamber by papyrus columns, emblematic of the North. The *kheker* ornament usually so noticeable in the Middle Kingdom and later is absent from the cornices of this early group, as it is from the tombs of the Old Kingdom. The art displayed in the decoration is of a poor order, but the fragments in Tomb No. 5 show that the subjects represented were varied and by no means commonplace. Here are found the earliest representations known of mythical animals.[1] On the front wall of the inner chamber is a remarkable scene of Ahanekht receiving (?) (a branch of ?) the *baq*-tree of the temple from the hands of the persons of priestly caste (*uab*-priests).[2] This he did as the titular head of the caste in the locality, Ahanekht being described in the hieroglyphs over the scene as "great *uab*-priest of Thoth." The meaning of the ceremony we do not know, but doubtless the *baq*-tree was one sacred to the local god. It seems probable that this Ahanekht may have been identical with one (or both) of the Ahanekhts who have left records in the quarries. He was son of a certain Tehutinekht, and is generally entitled "great chief of the Hare nome," "superintendent of the priests of Thoth," &c. On the façade of the tomb he was described at great length and with a vast number of titles, but many of these are lost in the fractures; that of "great *uab*-priest of Thoth" occurs only in the scene with the *baq*-branch. On the façade we read that he was *wazîr*, and so held the first place in the realm under the king: "the South land was content with his method, the North land in his command;" he therefore lived at a period when the two lands were united. "Precious minerals (metals and stones) came to him," and he was "prince of the quarry of Het-nub"; he was "as the gate of the palace, warding off the disaffected," who doubtless were numerous enough at the time. He was also the "pillar of his city," "establishing the boundaries of the inhabitants of the Hare nome." He set up great monuments in the temple of Thoth, and kept up its services. He boasts also of his wealth and generous living. If he had seen much of civil war, he preserves a discreet silence on the subject; but probably Ahanekht, like Khety of Tomb V. at Asyût, was enjoying the peace which followed successful warfare carried on by his fathers for the king of Heracleopolis or of Thebes. Unfortunately we cannot here find any passage which will identify the royal capital. At Asyût Heracleopolis is mentioned in every tomb of the Heracleopolite period. Perhaps from this silence at El Bersheh we may conclude that Thebes was the seat of power, and that therefore the XIth Dynasty was already well established when Ahanekht ruled the nome and administered the two lands of Egypt. This agrees with what we have already stated in regard to the name of the prince.

In Tomb No. 8 we have a clear record of the duties of one of Ahanekht's subordinates, probably a younger brother of his, named Aha. Ahanekht being entitled "superintendent of the city," i.e. of the royal city, Aha was superintendent of the royal *harîm*—that is to say, the apartments in which the female relatives and the children of the king dwelt, along with a number of other noble ladies and children. He calls Ahanekht his "master." He was a favoured friend of the king, who could enter boldly and unbidden into the royal presence; he was superintendent of the two *nesh* (?), superintendent of the writing in the "House of Life," chief of the house of frankincense

[1] See pl. xvi.

[2] Pl. xvii.

sealing the precious scents or sweetmeats, conductor of the women of the *harîm*. At the end of his days he could look back with satisfaction on his career; he had held many offices without being complained of or reprimanded: having become a royal acquaintance he was truly favoured and trusted with the instruction of the royal children. In the midst of these honours, however, he was courteous and submissive to his superior officers. His house was built, a reservoir dug and trees planted: finally he made a tomb-chamber beneath the feet of his master, who had bestowed on him these favours in order that "the servant might not degenerate into one who worked for his own ends!" The name of his patron Ahanekht is visible over the entrance and at the top of each wall.

In Tomb No. 10 Ahanekht is similarly commemorated. Unfortunately the long inscription describing his faithful servant Tehutinekht is extremely mutilated. In wording it was very similar to that of Aha: towards the end we obtain light upon Tehutinekht's office, "I acted as chief of the desert," and on another wall we have a reference to his functions in this connection, where it is said that the "offerings of the desert dwellers, frankincense and eye-paint, are given to" Ahanekht. Tehutinekht was of high rank in the king's court, like Aha, and doubtless held several offices: possibly he may be the "keeper of corn-lands, Tehutinekht," who is named in a graffito of that time, quoted above, p. 8.

No. 9, the central tomb in this group, must be of the same date; but hardly anything can be said about it, as it is plain, with only a fragment of inscription over the doorway naming a certain Khnem(?)nekht.

Whether any of the other tombs at El Bersheh are to be ascribed to this early time is uncertain. In Tomb No. 3 the names Ahanekht and Aha occur, but it appears to be later than Tomb No. 2 of the XIIth Dynasty. A more likely one is Tomb No. 6, of Tehutinekht born of Ankh: this man might be the father of Ahanekht, but the scrap recovered of his monument is too slight to build any theory upon. The rest are recorded to have the *kheker* cornice, and are therefore later. The fragment from an unknown tomb[1] is perhaps of the early period, as the formula with which it is inscribed is met with on an Heracleopolite tomb at Asyût.[2]

In one of the tombs at Sheikh Sa'îd there is an inscription recording that "this was done for himself as his monument to his fathers who were before him, by the *ha*-prince, superintendent of the king's house, Aha."[3] These titles do not agree with those of Aha in Tomb No. 8 at El Bersheh, and must belong to a nomarch of whom we have no other record.

Later than this Aha, but still of an early period, is probably the Tehutinekht born of Teta, who restored the tombs of his forefathers dating from the Old Kingdom at Sheikh Sa'îd, and perhaps at El Bersheh itself. In several of the tombs in the former necropolis—that of Meru (called also Beba), that of Uau, and that of Pepyankh or Aemhetep, all of the VIth Dynasty—there are inscriptions reading as follows, but more or less fragmentary:—

> "This was done for himself as his monument to his fathers who are in the necropolis (Khertneter), the possessors of this spot, making firm that which was found ruined, renewing what was decayed, when behold this had not been done by the ancestors who stood in former days: by the *ha*-prince, regulator of the two thrones, superintendent of the priests, superintendent of the king's house, superintendent of the South country, great chief of the Hare nome, mighty in his office, great in his dignity, of advanced station in the king's house, Tehutinekht born of Teta ()."[4]

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[1] Figured below on p. 34.
[2] Tomb iv., line 62, ff.
[3] From a copy made by myself in the winter of 1886.
[4] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abth. ii. Bl. 112-13.

At El Bersheh, too, in an early tomb below Tomb No. 2, there is an inscription almost identical with the above, but much defaced, of a nomarch and superintendent of the king's house, whose name is unfortunately destroyed.[1] The phrase, "when behold it had not been done by the ancestors," which occurs in this tomb as well as at Sheikh Saʿîd, probably refers to the previous work of restoration done by Aha in other tombs.

II. The Kay-Nehera-Tehutinekht Family.

For this family our materials are much clearer and more abundant, their period being illustrated by five tombs at El Bersheh and numerous graffiti in the quarries. Of the latter, the most important ones represent either four or five personages, according as we identify or distinguish between Tehutinekht "the son of Nehera, the son of Tehutinekht, the son of Kay" and Tehutinekht "born of Tehutihetep." That there is no necessity to consider these two as distinct is shown by the inscription in which Amenemhat is described in one passage as born of Satuzhetep while in another he is a "son of Nehera son of Kay."[2]

First Generation.—Of Kay we know only the name from genealogies, without titles, and there are no monuments or inscriptions attributable to him. We may, however, be sure that he was a very important person, as his posterity to the fourth generation state their descent from him. Kay's wife was probably Tehutihetep.

Second Generation.—Tehutinekht the son of Kay is most probably the "great *uab*-priest" Tehutinekht born of Tehutihetep, who has left us an inscription in the quarry (Gr. I.). This personage, although he does not claim the nomarchship or *ha*-ship, uses a very remarkable phrase, calling himself head of an ancient ruling clan, and terminates his inscription with the semi-royal epithet "living for ever to eternity." One other person, Nehera born of Kema, in his earliest graffito uses the same expressions but claims the nomarchship. It is therefore very reasonable to consider Tehutinekht and Nehera as father and son gradually recovering rights that had been lost in a period of internal disruption. With this Tehutinekht we therefore see a revival of the quarry inscriptions, which had ceased since the time of the Ahanekhts, but are now continuous for three generations.

Gr. I. In the third line Tehutinekht lays claim to ancient and noble descent, making use of the rare and remarkable word *qereḥet*, "stock," which occurs in a similar connection at Asyût[3] at nearly the same period. He saved his "city on the day of conflict from the grievous terrors of (i.e. inflicted by?) the royal house," &c. &c.

Third Generation.—Tehutinekht's son we believe to have been Nehera born of Kema. In the quarries he has left three inscriptions.

Gr. XI., dated in the 6th year. In the second line Nehera repeats the claim made by his father, and throughout there is much similarity of wording to Gr. I.; but the authority won by his father is now firmly established, and at the end Nehera dwells complacently on his wealth in herds and fowl.

Gr. IX., dated in the 7th year: written by the "superintendent of the canal (?)" Utemkhet, who was a highly favoured officer of Nehera but not a close relation (son or brother). He was sent to Het-nub by Nehera to bring statues (?) for him destined for the king's house. After recounting his own merits, he takes an

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[1] Copy of 1886, cf. p. 57, but is the name legible?

[2] Most of the graffiti of this family are translated below on pp. 47 ff.

[3] Tomb iv., ll. 1, 8; Tomb v., l. 33.

oath "by the life of Nehera" that his words are true.

Gr. XIV., dated in the 8th year: closely on the lines of the last, but written by a different official. Very much mutilated.

In the graffiti of the 6th and 7th years (probably also in that of the 8th) Nehera was entitled "*ha*-prince, regulator of the two thrones, superintendent of the priests, great chief of the Hare nome, royal relation, fore-front of the South country."

Nehera's tomb (No. 4) is in a most ruinous condition: not one of his titles is preserved in it, but the names of his two eldest sons Kay and Tehutinekht are legible, with their title "treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt."

Fourth Generation.—The tombs of the two sons of Nehera have not been found, but the inscriptions in the quarry give important information about them.

Kay appears in two inscriptions, Gr. VII. and VIII. The former is dated in his fifth year, and gives the titles "*ha*-prince, regulator of the two thrones, superintendent of priests, great chief of the Hare nome, superintendent of the city, *wazîr*, &c., superintendent of the South country, fore-front of the *ha*-princes in the king's house," also "chancellor of the king and royal acquaintance." He trained his young men for war, and went out with his city to battle. Apparently he prides himself on having none but native troops with him; but the reference to the Mezau and Wawat of Ethiopia, who commonly served with the Egyptian armies, is not clear—possibly Kay asserts that his personal attendants from these tribes were the only foreigners included in his troop. The second inscription contains many passages identical with Gr. I. of the great *uab*-priest Tehutinekht. It even has the same reference to "the grievous terrors of the king's house." It is dated in the seventh year, but shows no change of titles; indeed, Kay in his fifth year had already risen to the highest position in the Egyptian administration. In both inscriptions his genealogy is given reaching back to the first Kay.

Kay's younger brother Tehutinekht has left one inscription (Gr. XII.) with the same genealogy as Kay. He was "chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt, superintendent of the priests, great *uab*-priest of Thoth..." Unlike his namesake of Gr. I., he is silent about military affairs, and dwells, as might be expected, on his sacerdotal and general virtues; but he styles himself "living for ever," as if he were the representative of his clan: it is, of course, possible that Gr. I., which I have attributed to the second generation, really belongs to this Tehutinekht.

Fifth Generation.—Between the graffiti of Kay and Tehutinekht and that of Amenemhat there is such a wide difference that we must allow a certain period to have elapsed, and the change from the XIth to the XIIth Dynasty must have taken place at this point. Amenemhat was son of Nehera, son of Kay; and if we identify his grandfather with Kay of the fourth generation, we obtain for the fifth a certain Nehera with his wife Satuzhetep, who must also be the parents of Tehutinekht of Tomb No. 1. It also fits well with the chronology to make Tehutihetep's father Kay the son of the same Nehera. Was this Nehera a nomarch? In Tomb No. 7 we find a Nehera who may be identified with him. The religious texts on the ceiling, the only ones preserved, refer to him generally as "this Nehera"; but in one passage there are considerable titles, including those of *ha*-prince, superintendent of priests, and great *uab*-priest of Thoth. The last is usually held by persons of the second rank in the Hare nome, the two first often by actual nomarchs. It is a pity that there is nothing which can clearly decide the question whether he held the nomarchship. The fifth generation should be contemporary with the reign of Amenemhat I. I cannot help thinking that this king suppressed for a time the

peculiar title of the nomarchs, and that on the death of Kay the latter's brother Tehutinekht succeeded to the shorn authority, which was restored on *his* death to Kay's son Nehera, the rightful heir. After their loyalty had been well tried, the nomarch's titles may have been re-granted.

Sixth Generation.—Tehutinekht bears the full titles of a nomarch. He has left a fine tomb (No. 1) consisting of two chambers and a shrine, the whole fully decorated. In the shrine are the remains of a seated statue, and amongst the representations on the walls of the tomb is one of stonemasons at work in the quarries, characteristic of the locality. Their work is watched by a personage to whom are ascribed the full titles of grand *wazîr*, but unfortunately the name is lost, and it is not certain that he is Tehutinekht, who elsewhere appears only with the usual titles of nomarchs of the Hare nome and as "royal acquaintance, forefront of the South, forefront of the *ha*-princes in the house of the king." These titles are assumed by Nehera born of Kema, who does not appear to have been grand *wazîr*. Tehutinekht's importance is shown by a fragment of a funeral scene, in which his coffin-sledge is being drawn by representatives of many parts of Egypt, and of royalty itself.

Tehutinekht's wife was Hathorhetep who was born of Tehutihetep, but no children are recorded. Probably he died without issue.

His brother Amenemhat is known only from the inscription (Gr. X.), dated in the 31st or jubilee year of Usertesen I. He was "*erpa, ha*, treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, confidential friend of the king, and superintendent of priests." The first and last of these titles belong especially to nomarchs, but in this case they may be honorary distinctions conferred by the king upon a favoured officer. Amenemhat tells us that he came to Het-nub to obtain stone (?) for the king as one highly favoured, and this rather simple statement is backed by an oath "by the life of Usertesen." It is to be observed that Amenemhat bears no local title, not even "wielder of the two thrones," so we may believe that he did not hold the nomarchship of Hermopolis.

Kay the father of Tehutihetep was in all probability another brother of Tehutinekht. We know of him only from the tomb of his son, in which a very honourable place was consecrated to his memory. The right side of the shrine was occupied by a scene of offerings brought to Kay, corresponding to Tehutihetep's banquet on the left, and father and son face each other upon the inner wall. The inscriptions are formal speeches of congratulation that pass between them on Kay succeeding to his *grandfather's* (not his father's) nomarchship. With this new light we can translate Tehutihetep's rather involved speech with greater success than before.

"He speaks words before his father that he may [establish (*se-men*)] the name of him from whom he came. Are not the honours very great that are assigned to me (? *àp-tu nà*) before my father and my god, that he (my father?) should appoint me as chief of his (the god's?) city, great prince of the Hare-nome, as inheritor of him who begat him (i.e. who begat *my father*)? He is the staff of the old age[1] of this his father, and he has appointed me as chief of his (his father's and my grandfather's?) city."

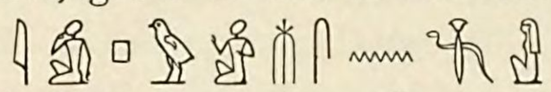
The confusion of pronouns here is considerable.

Kay's titles are "*ha*-prince, superintendent of priests, of the Kha (pyramid-city) of Usertesen."

As Amenemhat wrote his inscription in the later years of Usertesen I., and Kay's son

---

[1] *med* (?) *àa*, a not very rare phrase, hitherto misunderstood; cf. statue of the architect Amenhetep, l. 13 (Brugsch, *Thes.*, p. 1296); Pap. Prisse, v. 3; Kahun papyri (to be published shortly), pl. xi.

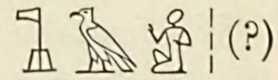
Tehutihetep was born in the reign of Amenemhat II., we may here insert a magnate and perhaps nomarch of Hermopolis, who appears upon a tablet from Abydos, dated in the 20th year of Amenemhat II.; he is the *ha*-prince, superintendent of priests, great of five in the house of Thoth, &c.,  Apu born of Uaz.[1] If this man was really a nomarch, he was not in the direct line of inheritance. Perhaps he held the nomarchship only as a regent during Tehutihetep's minority.

Seventh Generation.—In this we know of the nomarch Tehutihetep, son of Kay: his exquisitely decorated tomb has been fully described in the first part of the memoir, and his relations are there given in full. He was born under Amenemhat II. and died under Usertesen III.

Eighth Generation.—Of the three sons of Tehutihetep we know only their names and order, as recorded in his tomb, namely, (1) Shemsu-em-khauf, (2) Usertsen-ankh, (3) Nehera.

It is remarkable that we can trace nothing further of the family. It disappears from view at the very moment that it has reached the summit of prosperity. Perhaps the tombs of Tehutihetep's successors were in the plain and have long since been destroyed, or perhaps the powerful dynasty of kings gradually found opportunities for repressing the independent power of the local princes and centralising the nobility and wealth of the whole country in their capital. The great tombs of the princes of the Oryx nome and of Menat Khufu at Beni Hasan cease with that of Khnemhetep III. in or soon after the reign of Usertesen II.,[2] those of the princes of the Hare nome at El Bersheh in the reign of his successor Usertesen III. If we turn to the XVIIIth Dynasty we find similar evidence of centralization. The princes of Nekheb have fine sepulchres in the burial hill of El Kab, but the conqueror Thothmes III. marks the limit of their grandeur, and Paheri is the last nomarch whose tomb we can now identify in that cemetery. Early in the same Dynasty, down to the joint reign of Hatshepset and Thothmes III. and even to the reign of Amenhetep II., the tombs of certain great functionaries of the Theban court were hewn in the sandstone cliffs at Silsileh; but when the mighty builder Amenhetep III. came to the throne, they were compelled one and all to find a last resting-place in the necropolis of the capital.[3]

There still remain a few individuals whom we cannot place with certainty. The most important of these are the group in Tomb No. 3, the ruinous condition of which is much to be deplored. Here are found the titles of a prince of the Hare nome and *wazîr*, while in the shrine is a dedicatory inscription by "his son," the royal scribe Sep, with his brothers Tehutihetep, Aha and Ahanekht, all born of Uazkaus. It seems as if the second of these brothers might be the Tehutihetep son of Sep born of Uazkaus who appears as "superintendent of the treasures" in the tomb of Tehutihetep.[4] At any rate most of the names are to be found again in that tomb. I should therefore attribute Tomb No. 3 to about the same period as Tomb No. 2.

In the large quarry of Het-nub (Gr. XV.), we have a chief of necropolis-people  (?) Ameny son of Sep (No. 12), and a certain Tehutihetep son of Tehutihetep (?) without titles (No. 8). Probably these also are of about the same age.

We have now come to an end of our materials. The genealogy of the later family may be tabulated as follows.

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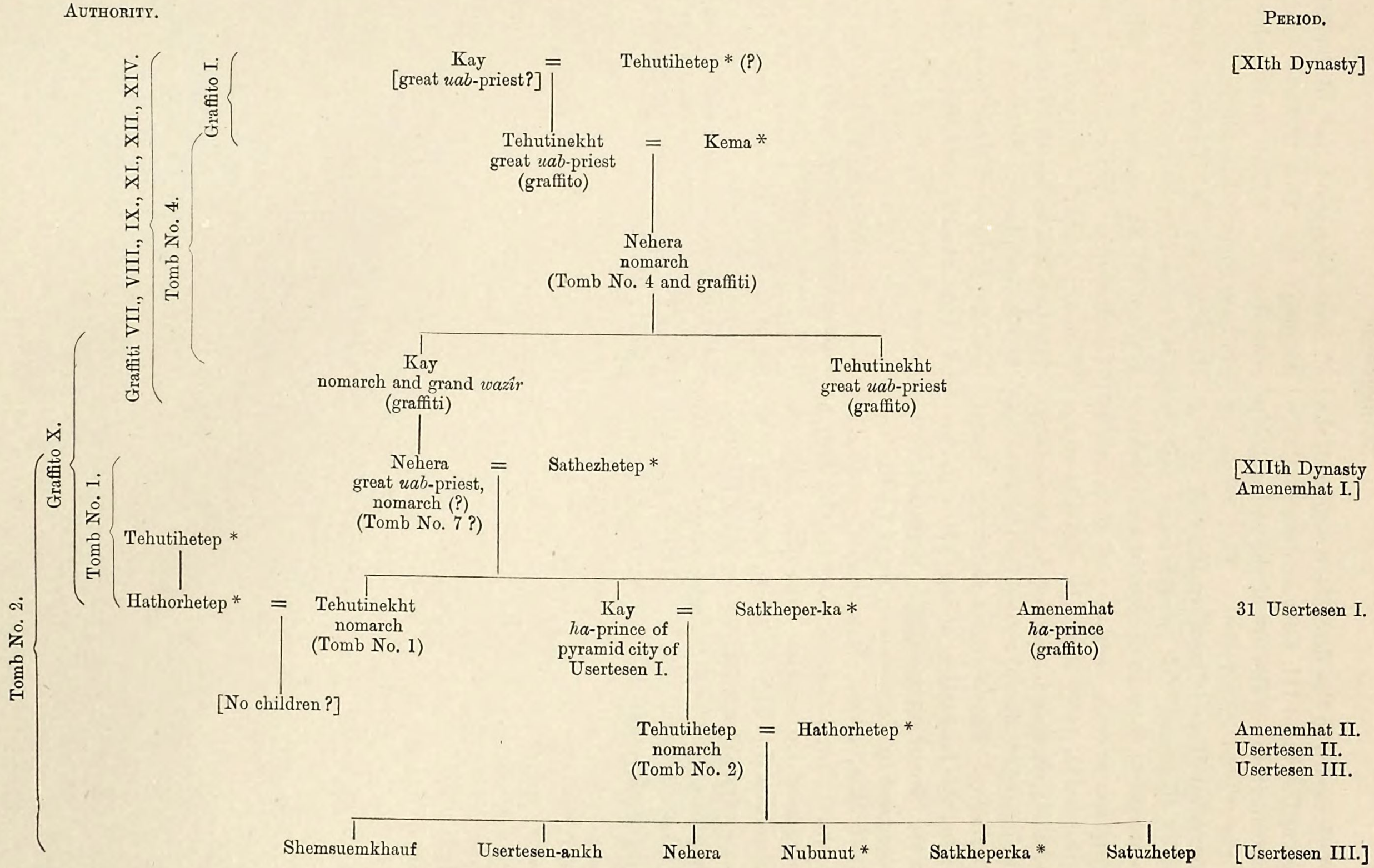
[1] Mariette, *Catalogue d'Abydos*, No. 637.

[2] *Beni Hasan*, Part II., p. 14.

[3] *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, xii., p. 90.

[4] *El Bersheh*, Part I., p. 38 and pl. xxvii.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE FAMILY OF TEHUTIHETEP.

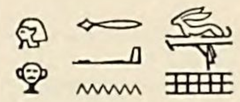


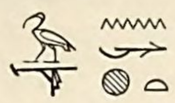
With regard to the dates here assigned, the reign of Usertesen III. (38 years) was probably long enough to see the end of the nomarchship in the eighth generation. The reigns of Amenemhat II. and Usertesen II., with part of that of Usertesen III., would make perhaps seventy years: between the date of Amenemhat's inscription and the beginning of the reign of Usertesen III. there would be about seventy-five, filled probably by part of the nomarchship of Tehutinekht, that of a regent (?), and that of Tehutihetep. The forty-one years that elapsed between the foundation of the XIIth Dynasty and the date of Amenemhat's inscription would be occupied by the nomarchship of Nehera and that of Tehutinekht. It is almost certain that the dated inscriptions of Kay in the fourth generation are earlier than the reign of Amenemhat I. The first Kay must therefore have stretched back far into the XIth Dynasty. What then is to be done with the Ahanekhts, between whom and this family there seems to be a considerable gulf as to the style both of tomb-decoration and of hieratic writing? Although the XIth Dynasty covered several centuries, it is difficult to see where the break can have come historically, except between the Heracleopolite and Theban supremacies. On certain grounds, therefore, it would be easiest to place the Ahanekhts in the period when the Heracleopolites were triumphant (whether over Memphites, over foreigners, or over general disorder), and before the Thebans had asserted their independence. We may hope that some day the history of these obscure times will be more clearly ascertained than it is at present.[1]

[1] Professor Petrie (*History of Egypt from the earliest times to the XVIth Dynasty*, ch. vi., vii.) has made a very bold and apparently successful attempt to bridge the gaps between the VIth Dynasty and the XIIth. There is nothing at El Bersheh to conflict with the view that the Xth (Heracleopolite) Dynasty was contemporary with the early part of the XIth (Theban). Professor Maspero's rapid sketch of the period (*The Dawn of Civilization* = *Histoire*, Tome I., p. 440 ff.) has many points of agreement with Petrie's detailed statements.

II. DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THE TOMBS.

TOMB No. 1.

TOMB OF THE  "GREAT CHIEF OF THE HARE NOME,"

 TEHUTI-NEKHT.

THIS tomb is much ruined by the earthquake and by quarrying. It consisted of a main chamber, with a small shrine at the inner end, both fully decorated with painting. In plan the main chamber is rectangular, measuring 26 feet 2 inches by 20 feet 10 inches, and is about 12 feet in height. The façade has been quarried away, and the greater part of the two side walls thrown apart, so that they both lean outwards. Their decoration is destroyed, and the roof falling in has split and cracked much of the inner wall. The shrine is a small rectangular chamber, 4 feet 11 inches deep, 5 feet 7 inches wide, and 7 feet 4 inches high, and is entered through a doorway, the threshold of which is 1 foot 4 inches above the floor of the main chamber. From the inner wall projects a seated figure of Tehutinekht, over life size, now much mutilated. The floor is at the same level as the threshold, and is well finished. Across the axis of the main chamber is the opening of a large mummy-pit, 12 feet 10 inches long by 5 feet 8 inches wide (see plan in pl. iv.).

The decoration of the tomb appears to have been quite independent of sculpture, even the framing of the shrine doorway being indicated only in colour. The surface was overlaid with a thin coat of stucco, which is now cracking and ready to fall off. The scenes and inscriptions were lightly incised in the stucco and painted in colours, many of the inscriptions, however, being filled in with a uniform plain pale blue. There is little artistic merit in either the design or the execution of the scenes which remain (see the Frontispiece and pl. v. for examples, reduced to $\frac{1}{3}$ of the original size).

The façade of the tomb has entirely disappeared. In the main chamber there is a dado painted to represent rose granite. No traces remain upon it of a false door. Above the dado are the scenes, surmounted by a *kheker* ornament painted in colours. The ceiling was richly ornamented. So far as can be ascertained from the fallen fragments, the arrangement was as follows:—A broad white band, edged with yellow and blue and inscribed

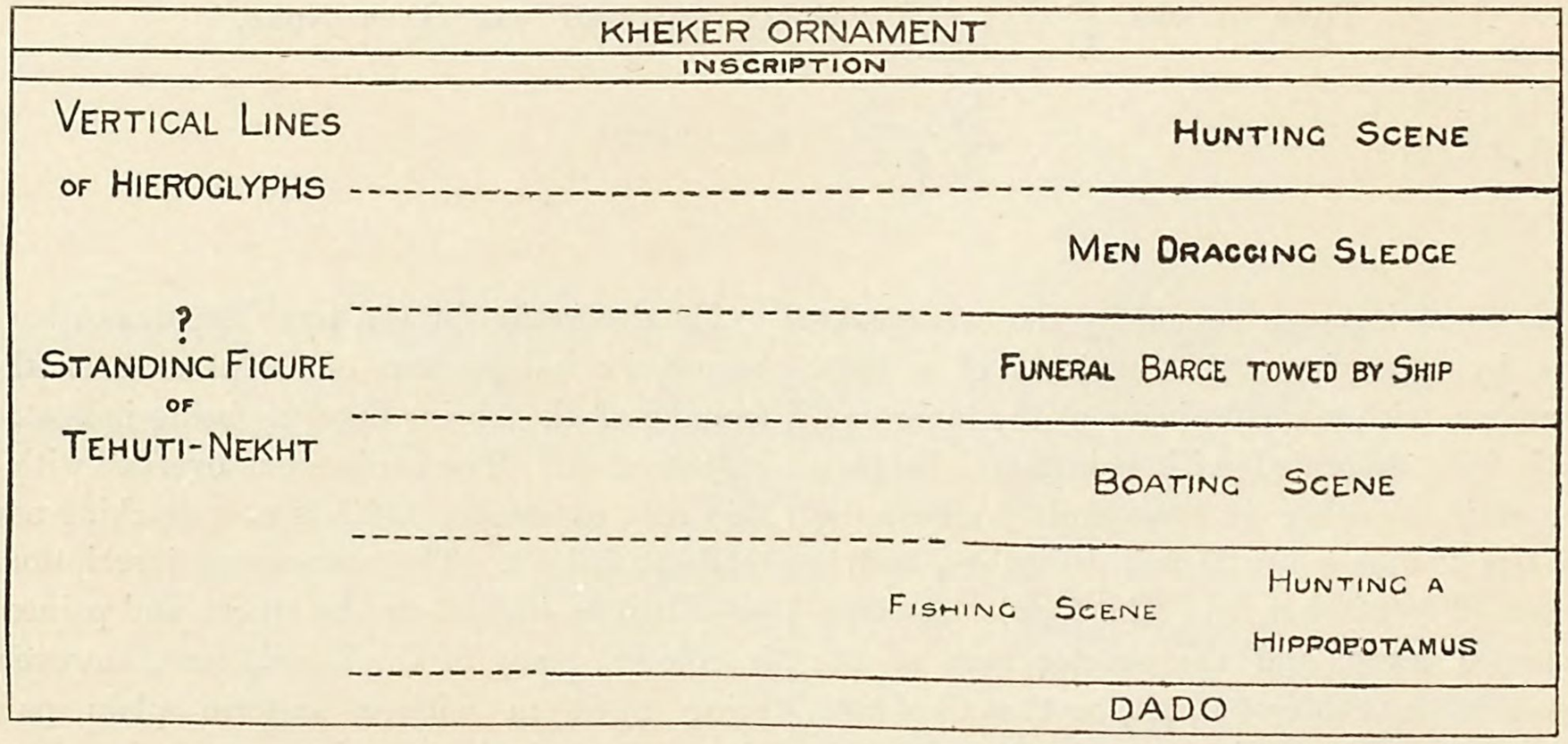
with blue hieroglyphs, represented a beam laid transversely across the middle. In the middle of the ceiling, and divided by this beam, was a large space filled with chequer pattern of small squares, each containing a 4-lobed ornament ⌖ and forming diagonal lines of red, white, and yellow squares respectively. The remainder of the ceiling was covered with columns of a long religious text painted in green, with the dividing lines blue. (See pls. v. and vi.)

The shrine has dado, scenes, and cornice ornament similar to those of the main chamber, but on a smaller scale, and the ceiling has the chequer pattern only, without inscriptions or beam band.

SCENES AND INSCRIPTIONS.

MAIN CHAMBER.

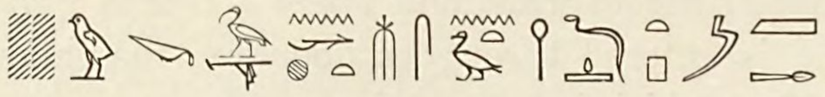
The only fragment likely to belong to the front wall is No. 9 in pl. ix., which cannot be attributed elsewhere. It is part of the formula *debḥ ḥetep per ḫeru* met with in Tomb No. 10.[1]



LEFT-HAND WALL.

Of the side walls a good deal can be recovered. For the western or left-hand wall (see diagram) we have a large piece *in situ* at the inner end reaching from top to bottom; the rest of the wall has been thrown backwards by the earthquake, but upon it, high up near the outer end, an inscription is still visible. Besides these, the fragments Nos. 8 and 10 on pl. ix. probably came from this wall.

At the top, below the *kheker* ornament, ran a line of hieroglyphs, no doubt a prayer to the deities for the owner of the tomb, corresponding to that on the right-hand wall, of which more is preserved (see p. 21). At the inner end is the termination of the inscription—

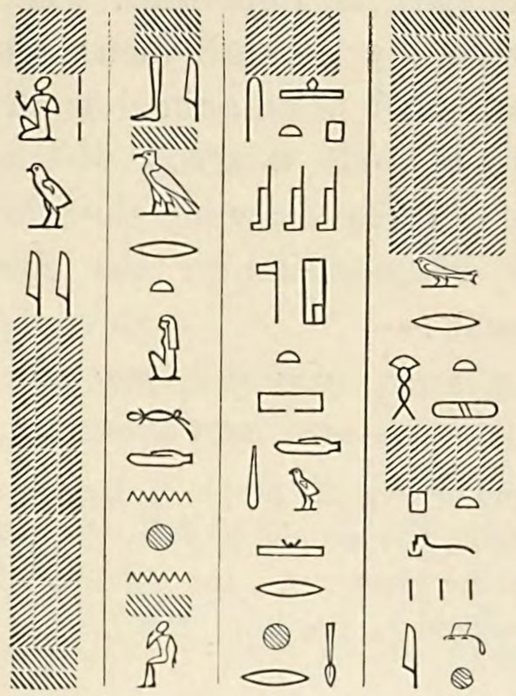


giving the name of Tehutinekht, born of Sathez-hetep. The fragment No. 10 probably belongs to this line, but it is very unintelligible.

At the outer end there must have been a large figure of Tehutinekht, looking up the tomb and dominating the rows of scenes

[1] See below, p. 44.

beyond. The inscription in large and detailed hieroglyphs, already referred to as existing at this end, must have belonged to such a figure. Portions of four lines remain, describing the nomarch in terms some of which recur in Tomb No. 5 (pl. xiii., lines 25, 26)—

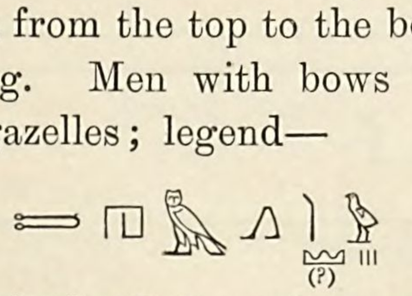


1. ..... 2. ..... *khart shed nekhen* 3. ..... *seḥetep esut ḥet-neter medu er kheru* 4. ..... *ur uaḥet* [*ásha*] *seteput ámakh*

"..... the widow, educating the child ..... offering gifts to the shrine of the temple, speech according to [his] voice (?)..... great in vegetable produce, abounding in choice viands ....."

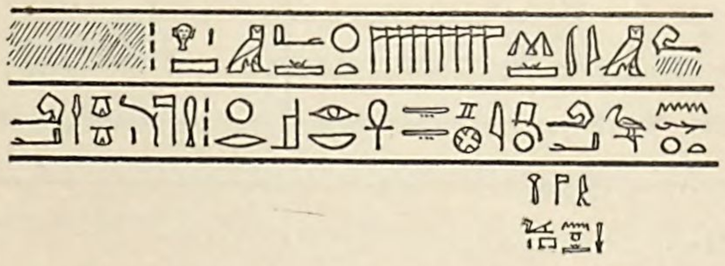
At the inner end the following scenes appear in succession from the top to the bottom :—

1. Hunting. Men with bows and arrows shooting at gazelles; legend—



thehem áut [*set*?], "pursuing gazelles."

2. Funeral (?) scene. Men dragging a sledge ⟿; above them the following inscription, the two short lines being in front of the men. The top line reads backwards.

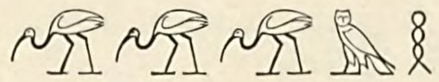


... *ḥer shemá, pat demd-tá em ḥá*[*t*], *ḥá kherp nesti mer ḥenu-neter ámakh kher Usár neb ánkh-taui ḥá Zeḥuti-nekht*

"[Human beings?] are accompanying (?), and the whole cycle of deities is before the prince, the regulator of the two thrones, the devoted towards Osiris, Lord of *Ankh-taui*, the *ha*-prince, Tehuti-nekht."

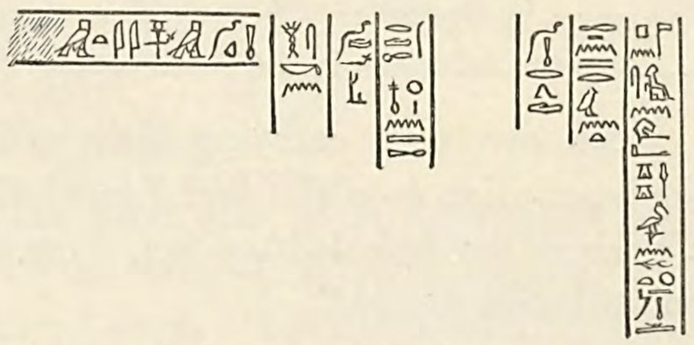
The first of the two short lines reads *á neter uaz*, "The god comes flourishing"; but the meaning of the second is doubtful.

3. A funerary barge towed by a ship in full sail ⟿. Three men with arms raised, looking towards the vessels, and exclaiming—

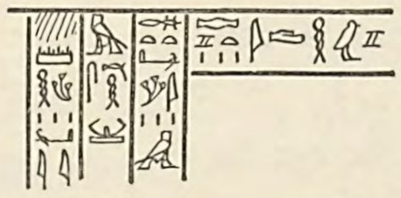


Ḳemḥ, ḳemḥ, ḳemḥ, "Look! look! look!"

The inscriptions in front of and above the ship and the barge are very difficult to read.



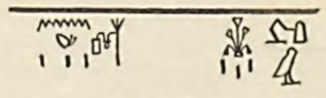
4. Scene of boats on the water, some of which are laden with papyrus; the inscription at the inner end is—



[*khetet*] *menḥ dáy em semeḥ : khetet áu em áat ádḥu*

"Papyrus put on the canoe : gathering reeds on the islands of the papyrus marshes."

Over the boating scene are two short inscriptions—



5. Fishing scenes. At the inner end are

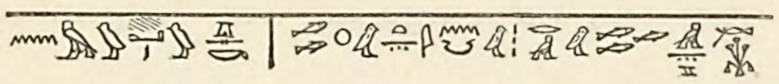
men in boats and a hippopotamus in the water. The inscription above the scene is—



uḥȧ zed-ef en khuu (?) *per ȧ-ek uḥȧ uaz mek uḥȧ* (?) *remu kheper nȧru em ȧ deb: ȧrer Ḥeru pu ḥȧ Zeḥuti-nekht em khent* (?) ..... *ȧmenti daȧ*[*r*?] *remyt* ..... *em ȧtru*

"The fisherman says to .....: put forth thy hand boldly, O flourishing fisherman: behold, fish are caught, the silurus-fishes appear with the hippopotamus: it is the doing of Horus. The Prince Tehutinekht in Nubia (?) ....."

Behind are some fishermen drawing in a net full of fish. Above is an inscription—



..... *ta ȧn uḥȧu remu em ta meḥ*

"..... by the fishermen in the north country."

After these are men carrying fish, with a puzzling inscription (see the last figure) above them: perhaps *ges-kuȧ ȧui em mu*, "my arms are anointed with water."

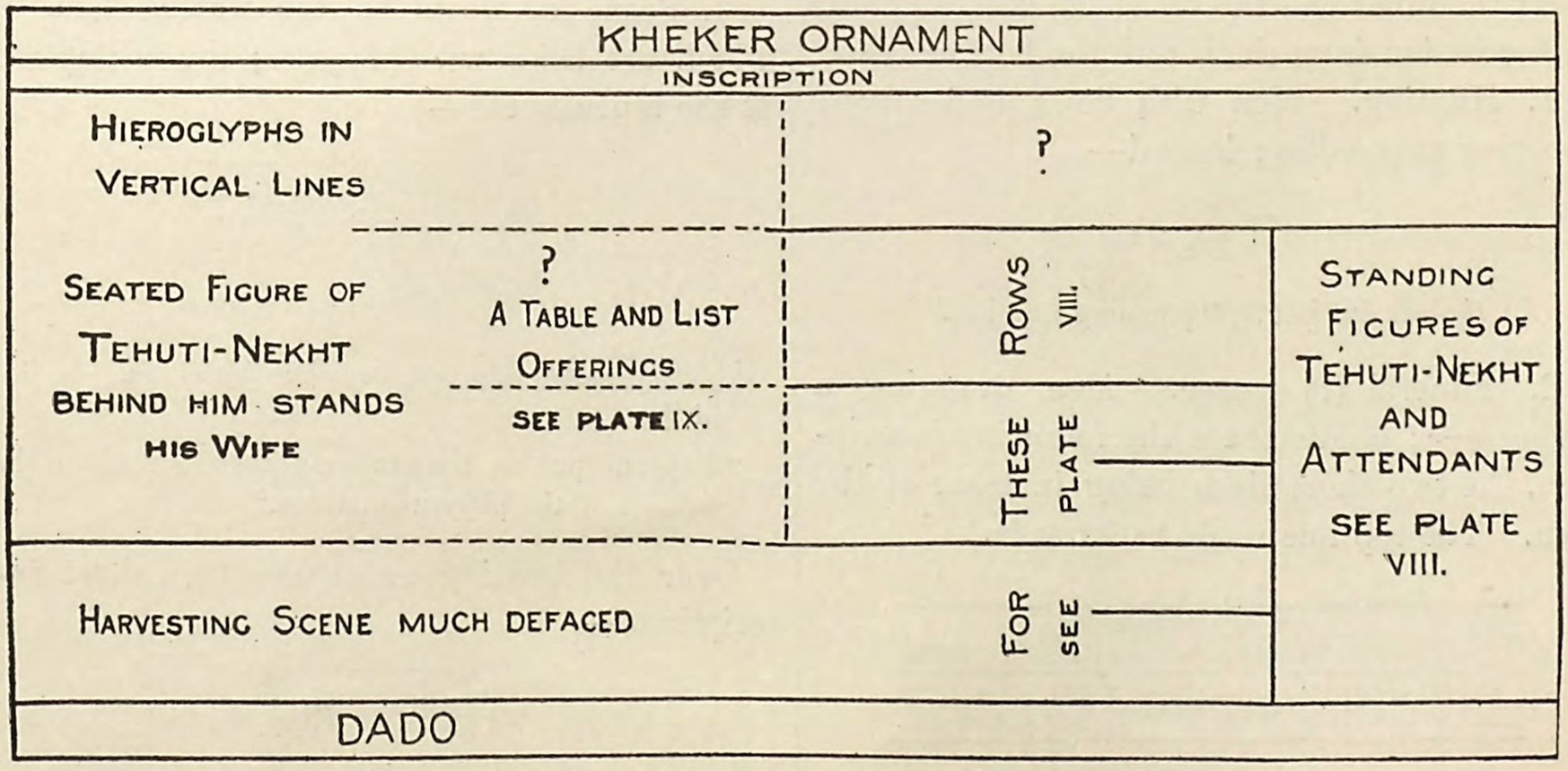
The fragment No. 8 in pl. ix. evidently belongs to rows 2 and 3. Only a few signs remain upon it from Row 3, probably reading ..... *neter pen* [*em ȧ*]*s-ef ne Khert-neter*, "laying this deity (the dead Tehutinekht as Osiris) in his chamber of Khert-neter." The upper part is important. It shows a sledge drawn by several men; one figure carries the haunch of an animal as an offering, while another holds a scroll of the ritual. Above the figures drawing the sledge is a remarkable enumeration of the classes that they represent:—

Reth Pe, Reth Dep, Reth Unu, Reth Sȧp, Reth Het ur met (?), *mesu seten, mert seten*, ..., [*se*]*meru*

"The people of Pe,[1] the people of Dep, the people of Hermopolis, the people of Sais, the people of the house of the great ....., the children of the king, the household of the king, the ....., the royal friends."

From the opposite (right-hand) wall much more is recoverable (see diagram). The two

[1] The twin cities of Pe and Dep (probably two sacred quarters of Buto in the Delta) are often associated; and Pe precedes Dep, otherwise we should perhaps read this list in the opposite order from the other end.



RIGHT-HAND WALL.

ends are nearly perfect; the middle part has been driven outwards and broken up, so that no decoration remains upon it, but a number of fragments of the scenes, chiefly from the outer half, were found amongst the rubbish on the floor.

The scenes from the outer half, with the fragments just referred to, were traced and are reproduced on pl. viii. (also No. 12 in colours in pl. v.); the fragments from the inner half are shown on pl. ix., Nos. 1-7, and in the Frontispiece; the remains at the inner end could not be traced.

At the top was a line of large hieroglyphs (partly in pl. viii.), reading—



De ḥetep seten Usȧr neb Dedu [de ȧtert] rest ȧtert meḥyt de pat ȧat [shert ȧr-]sen nek khet nebt nefert uȧbt debḥ ḥetep per-kheru ne ȧmakhy erpȧ ḥȧ kherp nesti [Zeḥuti-nekht mes ne Sat-]uaz-ḥetep maȧ kheru

"Adoration to Osiris Lord of Busiris, and to the Atert of the South and the Atert of the North and the great and lesser Ennead of gods, that they may make for thee all good and pure things, a table of offerings and funerary meals, to the devoted, etc., Tehutinekht, born of Sat-uaz-hetep, deceased."

Beneath this inscription there was probably a row of scenes, which is now quite destroyed from end to end; but below this at the outer end four rows of agricultural subjects are seen, dominated by a large figure of Tehutinekht standing in a *seh* . The four or five rows must have continued to the inner end of the wall, and here the agricultural subjects are still found in the two bottom rows; but above these, and occupying the space of two rows, is a seated figure of Tehutinekht, looking outwards. He is evidently receiving offerings, and the fragments relating to a table of offerings (Frontispiece and nos. 1-5 on pl. ix.) must be placed here.

We will take first the outer half of the wall (pl. viii.), and describe that separately from the remains of the inner half.

Commencing at the outer end, Tehutinekht stands, wearing a tunic pointed and pleated in front. On his feet are sandals, armlets are on his wrists, a broad collar is on his neck, and on his head is a full-bottomed wig. In his right hand is a staff, and his left hand probably held a  baton. He is standing under a *seh* or booth of very simple construction. Before his face are his name with a few titles (including ) and the name of his mother, mutilated. Behind the *seh* stood three attendants. One of them holds a baton; his title is given above—*sȧḥu-ef*, "his servant." In front of the *seh* is a column of inscription—

maa sekhet .....[se]ka .....

"seeing the meadows ..... and the ploughing ....."

In the third row from the bottom a man is seen in the attitude of presenting an account to the nomarch. Behind him two corn-sacks are on the ground between two other figures; the corn-sacks may contain seed for sowing. Then comes a plough drawn by two oxen, in front of which is a man going in the opposite direction sowing the corn, which he takes from a small basket slung from his shoulder. There is a driver for the oxen, and the plough is guided by a man who bends over its double handle. Over the oxen, and probably spoken by the driver, are the words—

sethu zed-ef tep nefer ne ḥȧ Zeḥuti-nekht

"The sower, he says, good management for the prince Tehutinekht."

and

u ur ded re de-ek khepep-ef ne qaḥu ne ter-ef

"Oh (?) old man, firm of mouth, cause thou that it meets the ground at its time" (namely the seed).

Another similar plough is being drawn in the opposite direction; it is preceded by a man with a hoe breaking the clods, and a sower (coloured in pl. v.). The inscription is unfortunately too much mutilated to be translated. The fragment No. 13 continues this row, and shows that a third plough was depicted facing the last.

In the next row (the second from the bottom) a man faces the nomarch, with his hands to his shoulders, in an attitude of respectful attention. Behind him are four scribes seated, writing on tablets, with pens behind their ears. The upper two face towards the nomarch. The inscription over the first reads *ḥeseb*, "reckoning"; that over the second, who is writing on a tablet, reads *sesh khepert*, "writing the result."

The two in the lower row face each other. The first *seḥu*, "sums up"; the second *sesh demd*, "records the totals."

Behind is an overseer leaning on a staff and watching some labourers, who from their attitudes are evidently gathering flax. They are extremely mutilated, but the last figure is knocking off the earth from the roots, in a manner which is characteristic of this scene as often represented in Egyptian tombs. In front of the overseer is the *mer ȧḥut* (?), "overseer of the fields (?)." Then comes a date, which can be completed by another fragment (not published)—

ȧbd IV *shat heru* 23 *pert er ... yt ḥemȧ ȧn zazat net* [*per*] *ne zet*

"Fourth month of the inundation, day 23. Going forth to ..... the flax by the auditors of the house of eternity."

This refers to the picture of the scribes. Over the man cleaning the flax-stems is the technical word for it, *zat*, and beyond we can trace the remains of the usual inscription accompanying the pulling up of the flax-stems, *ḥe ḥemȧ*. On the fragment No. 13 there are portions of inscription belonging to this line.

In the bottom row the first subject of the scribes was probably identical with that in the row just described, but the figures are much mutilated. Behind them are men cutting corn with sickles. We are not able to translate the inscription over them, which seems to refer to the harvest (*shemaa*) of *ȧt meḥ*, "northern corn."

From the inner half of the wall the first fragments to take are those numbered 6 and 7 on plate ix. Here we have a group of scribes, and behind them a date in the "fourth month of the inundation day 27." In the lower row, and above some water with fishes and lotuses, is a fragment of inscription referring to festivals.

At the inner end of the wall are visible in the bottom row men driving oxen and scribes registering them, evidently the last of the series of registering scenes that we have already mentioned. In the row above are oxen in water, probably crossing the inundated space between their pasture and the village (cp. *Beni Hasan*, Part I., pls. xii. and xxxiv.). Above them are five lines of inscription—a portion of a longer one.

To the same row must be attributed the inscriptions on the lower part of the fragment given in the Frontispiece with those numbered 2 and 3 on pl. ix., viz. *meḥ ȧpert* etc., *neshen ȧpert ... net hezezu*, etc.

On the upper part of the wall are the remains of a seated figure of Tehutinekht, with wife or mother standing behind him; these figures occupied the height of two rows. In front must have been a table of offerings: the fragments Nos. 4 and 5 (pl. ix.) may belong here, showing piles of offerings and an inscription relating to the offering of an oryx in the first line (of fragment No. 5), and in the third line the phrase *shed ȧb*, "drawing out the heart," which shows that there was a scene of sacrificing an ox beneath. Possibly these fragments came from some other wall, but the piece in

pl. i. and those numbered 1-3 are certainly from the upper part of the inner half of the right-hand wall. They are portions of an elaborately tabulated list of offerings, the names of which are recorded in two rows, with figures of servants kneeling and bearing them in their hands beneath. The fragment in pl. i. joins to the left-hand edge of No. 3, and No. 1 should be moved two inches forward to join it at the top.

INNER WALL.

Left-hand Side of Shrine Entrance.

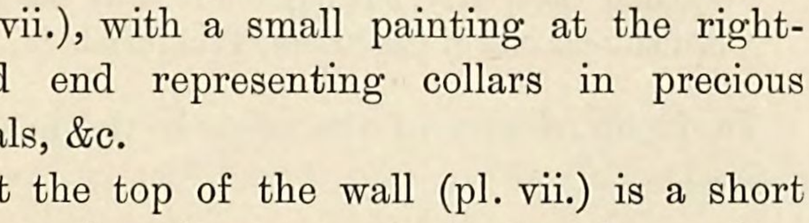
The decoration of the inner wall to the left of the entrance to the shrine consists of a large harpooning scene with inscriptions, and above it an important text in twelve columns (pl. vii.), with a small painting at the right-hand end representing collars in precious metals, &c.

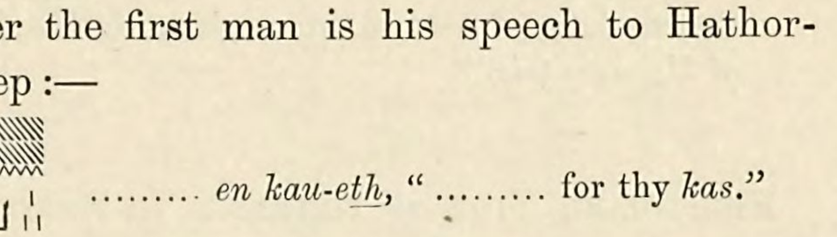
At the top of the wall (pl. vii.) is a short prayer for funerary meals to the prince Tehutinekht, son of Nehera. It reads ←𓇋 :—

..... *per-kheru ne ȧma-kh er-pȧ ḥȧ kherp nestï Neḥerȧ sa Zeḥuti-nekht neb ȧma-kh maȧ kheru*

"*Perkheru* offerings to the devoted to [Anubis?], the hereditary prince, the regulator of the two thrones, Nehera's son Tehutinekht, possessing the reward of worth, justified."

In the harpooning scene Tehutinekht stands upon a canoe in the usual attitude, grasping a harpoon, on which two fish have been speared. In front of him on the boat kneels his wife. A man stands facing her, and another man is lying down in the fore part of the canoe, apparently picking flowers. Over the arms of Tehutinekht is the inscription :—

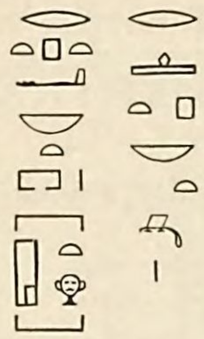
1. 

2. 

1. *maa ȧzḥu sethet meḥyt em*
2. *shedyt em ta meḥu fedet* (? *shedet*) *ḥenȧ khetet menḥ*

"(1) Seeing the papyrus marshes, harpooning fish in (2) the canal (?) in the north land, pulling up the henna (?) and plucking the *menh*-plant."

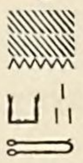
Over the wife is an inscription giving her name :—



ertet-pȧt nebt per [*Ḥether-*]*ḥetep, nebt ȧmakh*

"The hereditary princess, mistress of a house, [Hathor]hetep possessing the reward of worth."

Over the first man is his speech to Hathor-hetep :—



..... *en kau-eth*, " ..... for thy *kas*."

Over the second man is—



..... *menḥ*, " ..... *menh*-plants."

The long inscription above the scene reads (see pl. vii.) :—

1. *Er-pȧ ḥȧ kherp nesti mer ḥen neter ne Zeḥuti neb Khemenu ḥer tep ȧa ne Unt*
2. *mereru neteru-es nebu sȧḥu bȧti semer uȧti uȧ ur ḥeb*
3. *est ȧb seten ȧp estu zefau*
4. *maa sesheta* [*per*] *seten se-zeser shenyt*
5. *mau qa ser-ef* [*s-*]*u em est zesert* .....
6. ..... *est-es fuy* ..... *ȧn-nef neb*
7. *neḥeḥ er ȧsu neḥ-en nef net-ef uaḥ ne*
8. *ȧat ne merer-es su nefer-es* .....
9. *ḥen neter uȧb zebȧu mer kheneru* .....
10. *ur em ȧat-f ȧa em* [*sȧḥ-ef ser em hȧt*]
11. *rekhyt dede* .....
12. *ȧmakhy kher Usȧr ḥȧ kherp nesti* [*Zeḥuti-*]*nekht ȧr ne Uzḥetep*

1. "The hereditary prince, the *ha*-prince, the regulator of the two thrones, the superintendent of the priests of Thoth Lord of Hermopolis, Great Chief of the Hare nome.
2. Beloved of all its gods, the royal treasurer, confidential friend of the king, the mighty hunter,
3. the place of the heart of the king, apportioning the places of provisioning.
4. Seeing the secrets of the house of the king, dignifying the courtiers.
5. A tall lion raising himself in the sacred place.
6. .....
7. ..... in return for this his city prays for him a long life of
8. the greatness of its love for him .....
9. the priest pure of fingers, superintendent of the harem (?),
10. great in his office, high in [his dignity, a noble at the head of]
11. the *rekhyt* .....
12. the devoted one towards Osiris, the *ha*-prince, the regulator of the two thrones, Tehutinekht, born of Uzhetep (*sic*)."

Right-hand Side of Entrance to Shrine.

On the other half of the wall to the right of the shrine the decoration is in two rows. At the bottom there is a row of stonemasons. The greater part of the area is occupied by a standing figure of an important personage, accompanied by a lady standing behind him, and receiving offerings from four men. There is a very fragmentary line of hieroglyphs at the top, with remains of the usual formula for funerary offerings. The inscription over the figure reads:—



1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.

(1) *Er-pá ḥá kherp nesti mer net za* (?)
(2) ..... *sȧb zat mer*
(3) *ḥut urt* VI *maȧ*
(4) ..... *nez khener* .....

"The hereditary prince, the *ha*-prince, the regulator of the two thrones, the *wazîr*, the superintendent of the six great temples ....."

Unfortunately his name is lost: the titles of the grand *wazîr* borne by this man are not found elsewhere in the tomb, and it must be considered doubtful whether they belonged to Tehutinekht.

The inscriptions on the lower rows read ←:—



upt ḥetet uḥa ȧner ȧ[*n sau* (?)] *ne khertiu neter ne ḥá Zeḥuti-nekht*

"Opening the quarry, cutting the rock by the gangs of tomb-makers of the prince, Tehutinekht."

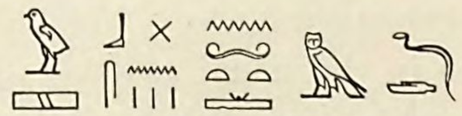
In front of one of the men is the inscription:—



zed-tef ȧner shu thes pekher

"That which he says: dry stone or the converse (?)"

Above them we read ←:—



usheb sen en ..... em zed, "They answer to ..... in saying."

and—



shu ȧner thes pekher, "dry the stone or the converse (?)"

The framing of the entrance is painted to resemble lintel and jambs (see pl. vii.). On

the lintel there are four lines of hieroglyphs giving prayers for funerary offerings—(1) to Osiris, Lord of Dadu, *Khent Amentiu*, (2) to Anubis, (3) to Osiris, and (4) to Anubis (?) for a good burial in the divine netherworld.

On the left-hand jamb are three prayers for funerary offerings—(1) to Osiris, (2) to Anubis, Lord of Tazeser, and (3) to the great and lesser Ennead of gods.

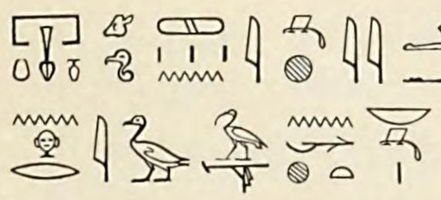
On the right-hand jamb are likewise three prayers—(1) to Osiris, Lord of Ankh-taui, (2) to Anubis, Lord of Ut, and (3) to the northern and southern Atert.[1]

The inscriptions upon the ceiling (pl. vi.) are too fragmentary for translation. They are of a religious character, and resemble the texts found in the Pyramids.

THE SHRINE.

On the left-hand wall of the shrine is a scene of offering to the figures of Tehutinekht and his wife, accompanied by inscriptions.

Immediately below the frieze is a line of painted hieroglyphs, containing a prayer for *perkheru* offerings for Tehutinekht, son of Nehera. This inscription reads :—



Perkheru ne ȧmakhy ḥȧ kherp nesti mer ḥen neter Neḥerȧ sa Zeḥuti-nekht neb ȧmakh

"*Perkheru*-offerings to the devoted one, the *ha*-prince, the regulator of the two thrones, the superintendent of the priests, Nehera's son Tehutinekht, possessing the reward of worth."

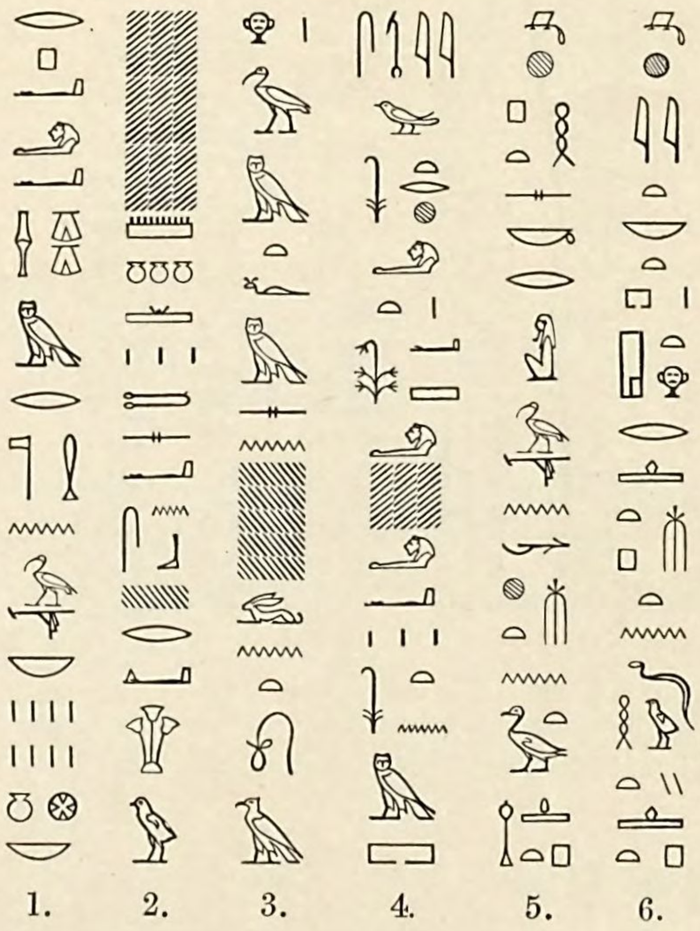
Below this, at the outer end, are four rows of nearly equal height, showing priests and servants performing ceremonies and bringing offerings to lay upon an altar before the large seated figures of Tehutinekht and his wife Hathor-hetep. Beneath the altar is the inscription :—



debḥet ne ka-ef shepsu, setep sa ḥenȧ ka-ef

"A table of offerings for his noble *ka*, protection with his *ka*."

Over the figures of Tehutinekht and his wife are six lines of hieroglyphs, reading :—



1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.

1. *Er-pȧ ḥȧ kherp nesti, mer ḥen neter ne Zeḥuti neb Khemenu neb*
2. ..... *menu thes senb ... er de ḥau*
3. *ḥer gemt-ef em sent* [*er*] *unt uasy*
4. *rekh seten ḥȧt qemȧu ḥȧ*[*t*] *ḥȧu em per seten*
5. *ȧmakh* [*kher*?] *Ptaḥ-seker Zeḥutinekht mes ne Sat-uz-ḥetep*
6. *ȧmakhyt nebt per Ḥether-hetep mest ne Zeḥutiḥetep*

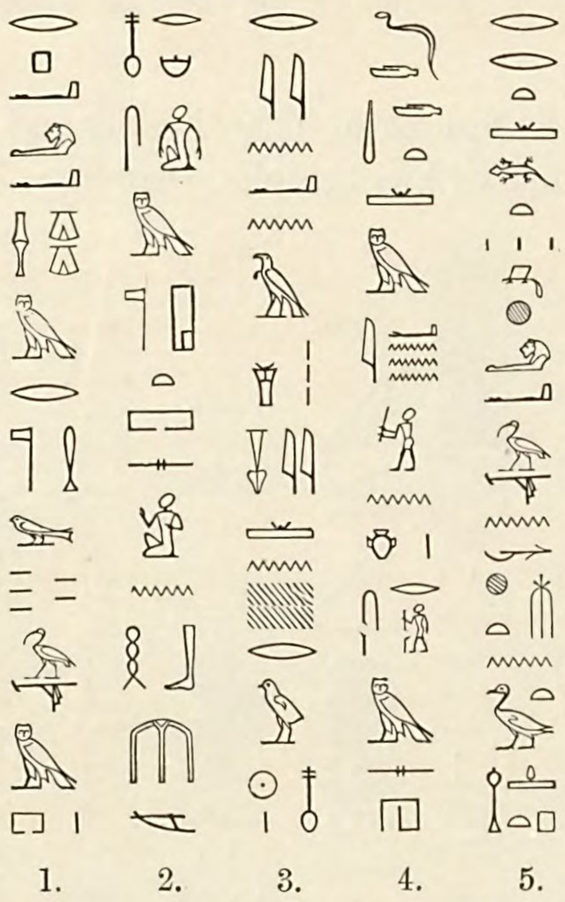
1. "The hereditary prince, the *ha*-prince, the regulator of the two thrones, the superintendent of the priests of Thoth, lord of Hermopolis, lord of .....
2. ..... doing more than
3. he found in copying what existed in a decayed state,

---

[1] *Atert* seems to be the name of the combined celestial and terrestial regions. The northern and southern "hemispheres" would be the nearest equivalent in current language, but the idea of a celestial sphere is perhaps not Egyptian.

4. royal acquaintance, chief of the south country, prince of princes in the house of the king.
5. The devoted (towards) Ptah-socaris, Tehutinekht, born of Sat-uz-hetep.
6. The devoted one, the lady of the house, Hather-hetep, born of Tehutihetep."

The same description applies to the other side, but the hieroglyphs above the seated figure of Tehutinekht are different. The five columns read :—



1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

1. *Er-pȧ ḥȧ kherp nesti mer ḥen neter ur dua em per Zeḥuti*
2. *Nefer ḥems em ḥet neter se ne ḥeb mery*
3. *ne ȧnti semay ne [h]eru nefer*
4. *zed medet em ȧȧ ne ȧb ser em se-herert*
5. *ȧshat ȧmakh ḥȧ Zeḥuti-nekht mes ne Sat-uz-ḥetep*

1. "The hereditary prince, the *ha*-prince, the regulator of the two thrones, superintendent of the priests, great of five in the house of Thoth,
2. beautiful of sitting in the temple, a man of sport,
3. loving incense, a partaker of a holiday,
4. speaking words in washing the heart (?), a noble in pleasing
5. the multitude, the devoted one, the *ha*-prince Tehutinekht, born of Sat-uz-hetep."

On the back wall of the shrine was a large seated statue of Tehutinekht. On either side of it, immediately below the *kheker* frieze, are two similar inscriptions, reading ⟵ ⟶ :—

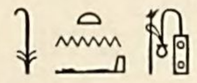
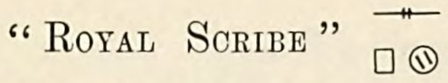


ȧmakhy ḥȧ kherp nesti Zeḥuti-nekht mes ne Sat-uz-ḥetep

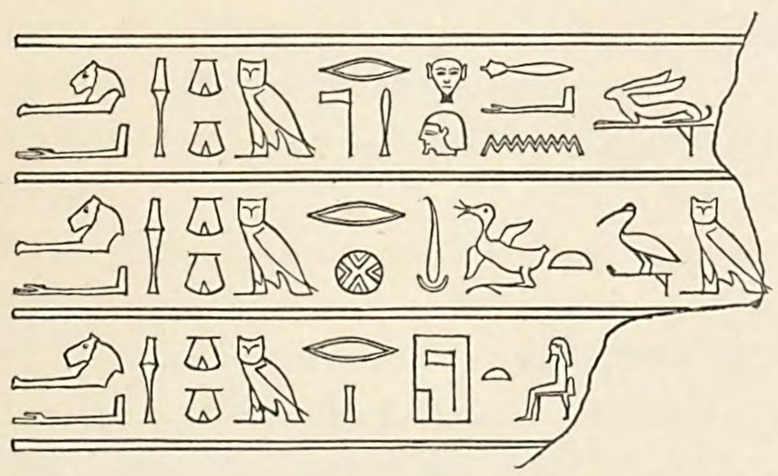
"The devoted one, the *ha*-prince, regulator of the two thrones, Tehutinekht born of Sat-uz-hetep."

Below are four rows of men bearing offerings, with inscriptions corresponding.

TOMB No. 3.[1]

TOMB NAMING THE  "ROYAL SCRIBE"  SEP.

THIS tomb has apparently been partly quarried away, and the roof has since fallen in (see pl. x.). A fragment of the lintel of the entrance doorway remains, and upon it are inscribed, in three horizontal lines, the titles of the owner. They read:—



1. *Ḥȧ kherp nesti mer ḥen neter ḥer tep ȧa ne Unt...*
2. *Ḥȧ kherp nesti mer net .....*[2] *zat Zeḥuti em .....*
3. *Ḥȧ kherp nesti mer ḥet neter .....*

1. The *ha*-prince, the regulator of the two thrones, superintendent of the priests, Great Chief of the Hare nome .....
2. The *ha*-prince, &c., the superintendent of the city, ... the *wazîr*, ...
3. The *ha*-prince, &c., the superintendent of the temple .....

The right-hand half of the entrance is destroyed. To the left of the centre is a large figure of the Anubis animal on a shrine, with an inscription.

shen ne ȧm ut nȧ seten Sep

"Offering (?) to him who is in Ut (namely Anubis), the royal scribe, Sep."

Probably there was a corresponding figure, with inscription, on the other half.

On the left jamb of the shrine is an inscription, reading:—

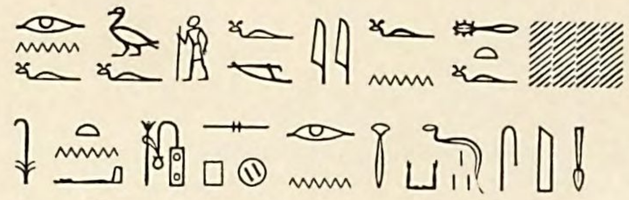
1. *De ḥetep seten neter ȧa neb pet de-ef kha em ta ḥeqt ȧḥu apdu* [*per kheru*] *ȧm rȧ neb ne ka ne ȧmakh*
2. *ȧn seten ne Unt temem ..... ne per seten Sep ȧr ne Uaz-kau-es maȧ-kheru*

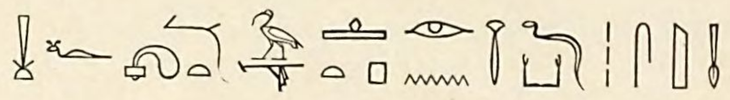
1. "An offering to the great god, lord of heaven, may he give thousands of loaves of bread and jars of beer, oxen and wild-fowl with which [the ceremony of funeral banquets may be performed] each day to the *ka* of the devoted one,
2. the royal scribe of the Hare nome ..... in the house of the king, Sep, born of Uaz-kau-es, justified."

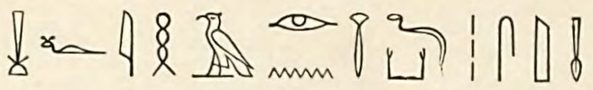
Inside this shrine are traces of a painted scene of offerings, defaced by the fading of the colour, and incised inscriptions belonging to figures of children of Uaz-kau-es:—

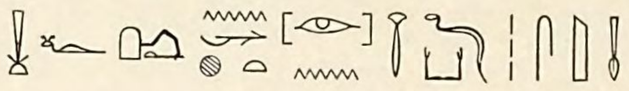
[1] Tomb No. 2, that of Tehutihetep, has already been described in a special memoir:—*El Bersheh*, Part I.

[2] The sign is very clearly cut, and occurs again in a similar connection, p. 24, above.

1. 

2. 

3. 

4. 

1. *ȧr nef sa-ef ur-ef mery-ef ne khet-ef ..... nȧ seten Sep ȧr ne Uaz-kau-es maȧ-kheru*

2. *sen-ef mer .....t Zeḥutiḥetep ȧr ne Uaz-kau-es maȧ-kheru*

3. *sen-ef Ȧḥa ȧr ne Uaz-kau-es maȧ-kheru*

4. *sen-ef Ȧḥanekht [ȧr] ne Uaz-kau-es maȧ-kheru*

1. "Made (this) to him his son, his eldest, whom he loves, of his body ..... the royal scribe, Sep, born of Uaz-kau-es, justified.

2. His brother, the superintendent of the treasurers, Tehutihetep, born of Uaz-kau-es, justified.

3. His brother, Aha, born of Uaz-kau-es, justified.

4. His brother, Aha-nekht, born of Uaz-kau-es, justified."

TOMB No. 4.

TOMB OF  NEHERA, BORN OF  KEMA.

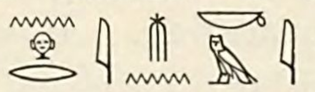
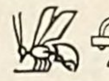
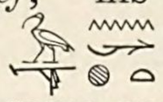
THIS tomb (see pl. x.) consisted of two chambers, of which the inner one was ruined, and could not be cleared. The greater part of the outer chamber was destroyed; only a fragment of the back and right-hand walls remain, the rest having been quarried away. It consisted probably of a rectangular chamber, with decorated walls and a large mummy-pit to the left of the axis. The entrance to the inner chamber was probably in the centre of the back wall, but the original length of this wall on the left is quite uncertain.

The front and the left-hand walls are quite destroyed.

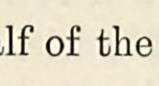
Of the right wall we have a large fragment remaining in place at its inner end. At the top of it is the fragment of painting, No. 3 on pl. xi. On a fallen block farther out is No. 8, evidently from the base of the wall.

Of the back wall, on the left side of the doorway to the inner chamber, there is a piece perfect, but none of the decoration remains excepting insignificant fragments of a figure of Nehera standing, accompanied by a woman of equal height.

The right-hand half of the wall is completely displaced, but preserves a considerable fragment of a scene of wrestling, &c. (No. 7). The fragment No. 4 must belong here also. Of the other fragments on the plate, the original positions of Nos. 1 and 2 are quite uncertain. No. 5, naming animals, seemed to those on the spot to have belonged to the right-hand wall, not far in front of the large figure on No. 3; and No. 6, on which the name of an animal is clearly seen, probably goes with No. 5.

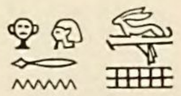
There is not much to be said about these fragments. Enough remains to show the name of the owner,  "Nehera, born of Kema," on the fragments Nos. 1, 2 and 3, but all his titles are lost. On No. 4 we have the names of his two "eldest" sons, the  *sȧḥu bȧti*, "treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt,"  "Kay," *sa-ef ur-ef mer-ef*, "his son, his eldest, whom he loves," and  Tehutinekht, who is described in the same way.

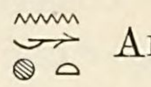
On fragment No. 5 we have "monkeys," *gaf*, and "baboons," *ȧȧn*, male and female, followed by the mythical *sag* (a female). On fragment No. 6 we have the animal-name *sether* (cf. pl. xvi.).

The inscriptions over the wrestlers on fragment No. 7 are as difficult to interpret as those in the same connection at Beni Hasan. On fragment No. 8 there is the *mer* .....*t*, "superintendent of the treasurers,"  Khety, bringing offerings, and in front of him part of a harp, with the words of a song written above. It is very unfortunate that this scene of the harper is so much destroyed.

To judge from these fragments, the style of painting in the tomb was rough, and not unlike that of the tomb of Khety at Beni Hasan.

TOMB No. 5.

TOMB OF THE  ETC., GOVERNOR OF THE (ROYAL) CITY AND *Wazir*, AND 

"GREAT CHIEF OF THE HARE NOME,"  AHANEKHT.

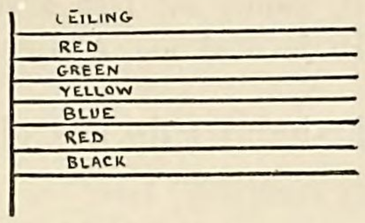
THIS tomb is much ruined by earthquakes and by quarrying. It apparently consisted (see pl. xii.) of two chambers, with perhaps a shrine at the inner end of the second chamber; but the inner end of the latter and the shrine, if it existed, were entirely quarried away in ancient times by men working from the back of the next tomb on the right (No. 6). Both chambers were decorated with painting. In plan the outer chamber is rectangular, measuring 18 feet 3½ inches by 16 feet 2 inches, and is about 8 feet in height at the inner end. The front wall has been cracked by the force of the earthquake and thrown outwards, and the greater part of the roof has fallen in. A large part of the right-hand wall remains in place, but of the left-hand wall only the dado at the base. The back wall is more complete, and the roof is in place above it. The façade consisted simply of the worked face of the cliff, the front of the doorway being flush with the rest, and not, as is usual, with a raised "architrave"; but long lines of hieroglyphs were incised on either side and upon the lintel. The entrance is 4 feet 8 inches wide, the thickness of the wall being 3 feet 2 inches. There are two mummy-pits in the outer chamber, one on each side of the axis; that on the right is the largest, and measures 10 feet 8 inches by 5 feet 3 inches at the opening in the floor.[1]

The dimensions of the inner chamber, which was entered by a doorway 4 feet 8 inches wide, are not known, as it was not considered safe to entirely clear the *debris*, owing to the large blocks from the roof which lay on the top. The width of the chamber, however, was 18 feet 2½ inches, and the right-hand wall was uncovered to a distance of 19 feet 8 inches. Of this chamber the right-hand side of the front wall is fairly perfect, but all beyond is quarried away, little more than the dado remaining in place. Some fragments of all the walls have been recovered, excepting the back wall of the inner chamber.

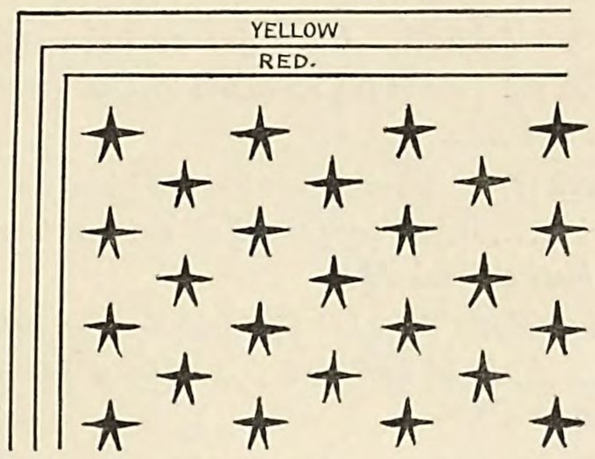
The decoration of the tomb consisted of scenes and inscriptions, which were all incised and roughly coloured. With one or two exceptions, in which several colours are used, the inscriptions are filled in with pale blue, of a tone characteristic of the early Middle Kingdom. There is little merit in either the design or execution of the scenes which remain. In both chambers there are plain dados, and in the inner one there are the remains of two false

[1] See Mr. Fraser's *Appendix*, below, p. 61.

doors sculptured on the left-hand wall. Above the dado are the roughly executed scenes, surmounted by broad bands of colour, but without *kheker* ornament.



The ceiling is yellow, ornamented with blue stars.



In one corner of the outer chamber (see pl. xv.) is painted a column, with its capital in the form of a full-blown lotus, and in a corner of the inner chamber a similar column with a papyrus capital (see pl. xvii.). We may confidently assert, on the strength of these remains, that each chamber was represented as upheld by four columns, those in the northern or inner chamber representing the northern plant , those in the outer or southern the plant of the south . This device is architecturally important.

SCENES AND INSCRIPTIONS.

FAÇADE.—Over the doorway there were four horizontal lines of hieroglyphs (see pl. xiii.), three of which are still perfect, incised and painted blue, giving the name and titles of Ahanekht. They read:—

1. *De ḥetep seten Ȧnpu neb Sep se-za ef nefer ḥer uaut-ef nefert net kher-neter khepept amakhu ḥer-es ȧmakhy kher Ȧnpu Ȧḥanekht maȧ kheru*
2. *Ḥȧ kherp nesti mer ḥen neter ḥer tep ȧa ne Unt mereru neteru-es nebu ȧmakhy kher neter ȧa neb pet Ȧḥanekht maȧ kheru*
3. *Ḥȧ kherp nesti sȧhu bȧti semer uȧti ḥep ȧn rekhyt* (?) ..... *mer set ȧmentet ȧmakhy kher Us-ȧr neb Dedu Zeḥuti-nekht sa Ȧḥanekht maȧ kheru*[1]
4. *Ḥȧ kherp nesti ḥen neter* .....

1. "May the king give an offering to Anubis, lord of Sep, making a good passage along the roads of *kher-neter*, on which the *Amakhu* travel, the devoted towards Anubis, Ahanekht.
2. The *ha*-prince, regulator of the two thrones, superintendent of the priests, the Great Chief of the Hare nome, beloved of all its gods, the devoted towards the great god, lord of Heaven, Ahanekht, justified.
3. The *ha*-prince, regulator of the two thrones, treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, confidential friend of the king ..... superintendent of the Western desert, the devoted towards Osiris, lord of Busiris, Tehutinekht's son, Ahanekht, justified.
4. The *ha*-prince, regulator of the two thrones, priest of ....."

On the left-hand side are twelve columns of hieroglyphs, reading[2]:—

5. *Ḥȧ kherp nesti me*[*r ḥenu neter*] .....
6. *em ȧb-ef perkheru* ..... *er gerg* .....
7. *ȧm Khemenu shems neb-ef khet ḥesept ȧamu ne* ..... *ȧs* ... *shu*.....
8. [*me*]*des* [*er me*]*des sekher sebȧ* ..... *sheta* .....
9. *ȧm* ..... *au Heru ȧm khen*[*t*] *em ḥet-neht* (?) *uȧ ḥer khu* [*ḥeq*] ..... *men red tur ȧui heby em usekht* .....

[1] These three lines have been published by Maspero in *Recueil de travaux*, xiii. 193, from a copy preserved amongst the papers of Nestor de l'Hôte in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Tome iii. fo. 291).

[2] In l. 14 occurs the well-known phrase  divided after the first sign by a considerable gap. Unless this gap be due to a confusion in the copy, caused by the ruinous state of the original, we must attribute it to the desire of the sculptor to avoid a defect in the stone.

10. *derp em khau ȧsha seftet se-nezem seth ḥet-neter un ḥer se-uaz se-ȧn se-zefa khaut neteru ȧmu Unt mer net*

11. *ta sab zat khe uzȧ ḥeseput ser* (?) *taui neḥeb* (?) *ne entet ȧutet semen medut* (?) *tashu ȧmu Unt hereru qemȧu*

12. *kher sekher-ef ta meḥu kher uz* [*medu*]*-ef haau nef ȧat shepset ḥer tep Ḥet-neb meḥ ȧb ne seten ȧa ḥa khenu khesef*

13. *em khaku-ȧb rekh seten ..... sȧḥu then ȧru emem uru ȧn net-ef meter maȧ* (?) *uȧḥ ȧb zȧr*

14. *peḥu medu ur em ȧat-ef ȧa em sȧḥ-ef khent esut em per seten neḥeb* [*ka*]*u-ef saq* (?) *Unt mer*[*er*]

15. *Zeḥuti neb Khemenu ȧn-ef mer-nef em se* [*ȧqr* ?] *ȧq* (*sa* ?) *ket-ef metut ȧr maȧt sepd re em ḥer ȧb shent zed em re-ef ȧr em ȧui-ef*

16. *sa ȧut-ef em ḥer ȧb ḥeqau ȧq kher ḥȧt per kher peḥui sedem seḥ ne ȧkeku* (?) *ȧmakhy Ȧḥa-nekht maȧ-kheru*

5. "The *ha*-prince, regulator of the two thrones, superintendent [of the priests .....]

6. in his heart, *perkheru* offerings .....

7. in Hermopolis, following his lord over the nome .....

8. Sharp to the sharp, overthrowing the rebellious .....

9. ..... Horus *am-khent* in the house of the sycamore ..... firm of foot, clean of hands, festive in the great hall .....

10. offering to the gods by the thousand, abounding in victims, making sweet the smell of the temple, revealing the face (of the god by opening the shrine), making to flourish what was decayed, provisioning the altars of the gods who are in the Hare nome, superintendent of the city,

11. judge, *wazîr*, ... of what is and what is not, making firm the boundaries which are in the Hare nome, the South rejoices

12. in his method, the North in his rule; precious stone comes to him, the Chief of Het-Nub, satisfying the heart of the king, the door behind the palace, taking vengeance

13. on the rebellious, the royal friend ..... the nobles, important of figure amongst the great, the pillar of his city, truly just, applying the heart, seeking

14. the end of words, great in his office, high in his rank, advanced of position in the king's house, uniting his *kas* (?), armouring the Hare nome, beloved of

15. Tehuti, lord of Hermopolis, bringing to him what he desires as an excellent individual, ... doing justice, of ready lip in the midst of the warriors, speaking with his mouth, acting with his two arms,

16. careful of his going in the midst of the princes, entering first, going out last, hearing the council of ..... the devoted one, Aha-nekht, justified."

On the right-hand side are eleven columns of hieroglyphs, reading[1]:—

17. *ḥȧ kherp nesti mer ḥen neter ȧa ren em taui Ḥeru mer* [*qemȧ*]*u ȧu ȧr-nȧ men*[*u*] *ȧau em re-per neb* [*ȧ*] *Zeḥuti ȧu.....t*

18. *ȧr nȧ ḥebu ȧu de-nȧ ȧat ne neb-es* (?) ..... *qed-nȧ em* [*ma*]*t* (?) *en neb-ȧ Zeḥuti erde nȧ ren-ȧ ..... qed ..... nȧ*

19. *khesh* (?) *ȧn nȧ ne merut se-ȧnkh ren-ȧ ḥer menu ȧr-nȧ ..... ȧ uat sekhemkh ȧb em mert-nef ..... ȧ Zeḥuti em uzȧ khet*

20. *sebau Ḥeru khen*[*t*] *pet uȧb ȧui er ḥetep-ef kha ..... ȧnkh nefer sa ..... khenu khenuti za ȧb er est*

21. *net sat seshem nȧs er ȧḥȧu-ef heru nefu ȧa ..... ḥeru tep ȧu mȧ Ḥeru em sektet nȧs ȧa ne neb*

22. *nebu khent er khentu nuk mery ne* [*seten* (?)] *nuk ȧḥa ne sema ..... em ȧ kheperu ȧrer-ȧ ḥemu er maat-ȧ*

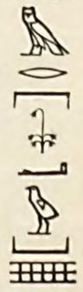
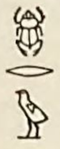
23. *khepert si kher seḥ*(?)*-ȧ nuk gert en fekhet ... re-es sa ... ȧb ..... guau-ef neb sekher em seḥ ne seru*

24. *hru medet qesent gerg ȧb er se-hat be ... heru ne medet a ..... Ȧḥanekht ḥȧ kherp nesti mer ḥen neter nuk uȧb shu*

25. *em kenȧ medu ..... beses ḥer seft neb heru teka Nekhebt* (?) *sem ȧshat ..... ur uaḥut ȧsha seteput uȧb ȧaui em .....*

26. *neter se-ḥetep esut ḥet-neter medu*[2] *er kher-ef pȧt teg rekhyt em seger ȧa se-ḥer* (?) *ḥemu seten ḥer khent ta ne sekher khen ȧḥu*

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[1] In the plate the fragments are not quite correctly adjusted: the top one is too close to the second (see esp. lines 18 and 19). In line 17 we must restore . On the other hand, the bottom fragment should touch the third, so as to give  in line 22.

[2] Cf. the same phrase on p. 19, above.

27. ..... *uru sema ta* ..... *ur dua* ..... *kherp nesti mer ḥen neter ḥer tep ȧa ne Unt ȧmakh Ȧḥanekht maȧ kheru*

17. "The *ha*-prince, regulator of the two thrones, superintendent of the priests, great of name in the two lands of Horus, superintendent of the South. I made great monuments in the temple of my lord Thoth .....

18. I made festivals, I gave (each) office to its (rightful) owner ..... [temple] (which) I built anew (?) to my lord Thoth, I placed my name [upon it] ..... I built .....

19. ..... I brought in ..... in order to make my name live upon the monuments that I made ..... rejoicing the heart with what it desired ..... [brother of (?)] Thoth in weighing things.

20. Star of Horus in heaven, pure of hands ..... pleasing the heart in the place

21. of ..... leading him who calls to his place (?) on the day of great tempests: ..... my chief being like Horus in the divine *sektet*-boat. Great caller of the lord of

22. lords. Foremost of the foremost, I was beloved of the king (?): I was a warrior of close combat .....

23. ..... [I found the skein in] its entanglement, possessor of method in the council of the officers

24. on the day of painful words, valiant of heart to ..... on the day of ..... words ..... Ahanekht, the *ha*-prince, the regulator of the two thrones, superintendent of the priests, I was pure, free of

25. false-swearing, ... great of fruits, abounding in choice viands, pure of hands in the vessel

26. of god. Satisfying the places of the temple, speaking according to his voice, the *Pat* are subdued, the *Rekhyt* are silenced: ... great ... wielding the rudder; the king steered (?) the land according to my method: greedy (?) of oxen the

27. ..... great of five ..... regulator of the two thrones, superintendent of the priests, Great Chief of the Hare nome, the devoted one, Ahanekht, justified."

Thickness of the Walls.—On either side of the entrance passage to the outer chamber (i.e. the "thickness of the walls") were three columns of hieroglyphs giving the usual prayers and the name and titles of Ahanekht, beneath which was a seated figure of the prince. Of the inscription on the right-hand side three fragments are preserved (see pl. xiii.). The first line gave the *De hetep seten* formula to Osiris, lord of Dadu and Abydos. The second and third lines give titles of Ahanekht, among which occur *kherp shenzet*, "Regulator of the tunic," and  *kherp* ....., a title which appears also at Beni Hasan.[1]

Of the corresponding inscription on the opposite side three pieces are preserved. The first line gave the *De hetep seten* formula to Anubis Upon his hill, Within Ut, Lord of the Sacred Land. The second and third lines give titles of Ahanekht, and among others the following:—*ur res met*, "noble of the Southern ten," *ur ḥa met*, "noble of the Northern ten," *ur dua em per Zeḥuti*, "Great of five in the house of Thoth," and *ḥen neter nȧs* (?) *medu* (?) "priest of the Pronouncer of words (?)."

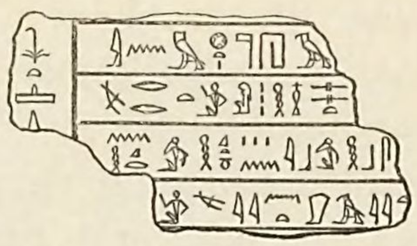
Front Wall: *Left Side* (pl. xiv.).—The principal figure is of Ahanekht seated, stretching out his right hand as if to an altar in front of him. The rows in front are extremely mutilated, but the three rows below are in better preservation. The top one shows figures dancing in his presence. The dancers are in light clothing, with their hair tied by a fillet. Portions of four figures remain, with a fifth facing them and beating time. Beneath are two rows of cattle, with bull-fight, milking, and birth of a calf, &c. Near the feet of Ahanekht is an ox cut up, and over his head are three lines of hieroglyphs with his name, and in the third a funeral prayer to Anubis.

Right Side (pl. xv.).—Of the corresponding scene on the right-hand side the large figure is lost. Some fragments remain towards the bottom corner. These show a large pond, with two clumps of blue lotus and ducks and geese of different sizes. Three men bring birds alive

[1] *Beni Hasan*, Part I., pl. vii.

or trussed. Towards the top of the wall men are loading and driving donkeys. At the top were two lines of inscription giving prayers for Ahanekht, that in the upper one being addressed to Osiris, *kh*ent Ȧmentiu, lord of Abydos. It is probable that above the duck-pond there was a large seated figure, to which the attendants were bringing the birds, so that the scheme of this scene nearly corresponded with that on the other side.

Left-hand Wall.—Of this we have no certain fragments, but a piece was found in this direction that may have belonged here or to an adjoining tomb. It reads as part of a well-known formula:—



ȧ-nȧ em net-ȧ ha[-nȧ em hesept-ȧ ȧr-nȧ]merert remt ḥesest[neteru ȧu de-nȧ ta] ne ḥeqer ḥeqt ne ȧb ḥebsu [ne ḥay] ... .. nuk mery ne Tayt .....

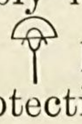
"I came into my city, I entered into my territory, I did what men desired and gods praised; I gave bread to the hungry, beer to the thirsty, clothes to the naked ..... I was beloved of Tayt (the goddess of weaving)."

Right-hand Wall (pl. xv.).—Fragments at the corner, top and bottom, join those of the right half of the front wall. At the end, between two bands of coloured rectangles was the figure of a lotus column, incised and painted in colours. Its tapering shaft was composed of several stems; its capital was formed of an open flower of the blue lotus, and just beneath this two small buds were bound to the main stems. At the foot was evidently a circular base. Of the rest of this wall there is a fragment of the titles of Ahanekht close to the top of the column, and evidently there had been a large figure of the prince at this end of the wall. At the inner end, in the two bottom rows, are the remains of several kneeling figures of servants holding vases, &c., with the names of their offerings tabulated beneath them. The wall terminates with a border of coloured rectangles.

Inner Wall: *Left Side.*—Destroyed.

Doorway.—On the right side are the ends of two columns of inscription, with the titles of Ahanekht, terminated by a seated figure (pl. xvi.).

Right Side (pl. xvi.).—The lower part is complete. A number of fishermen are drawing a well-filled net ashore, assisted by a man in a canoe. Over this is the inscription, *uḥȧu ḥer ḥam [rem]u*, "fishermen catching fishes." The canoe is steadied by a man driving his punting-pole into a *bat net nesha*, "bush of *nesha*" resembling bamboos. At the other end is a clump of papyrus called simply *bat*, "bush." A blue lotus grows underneath the first bush.

The upper rows are much more injured, only the outer end being preserved. First there are two men carrying a fish on a pole, *kh*eru ȧḥa, "carrying the Nile perch (*Perca Nilotica*)," [1] and another holding large fish, belonging to two species, in each hand, with the inscription *kh*er remu, "carrying fish." Above these, in two rows, are evidently the remains of a hunting scene. In the lower row we see an animal named *seth*er with a pointed nose, probably a hound, or perhaps a mythical animal. Next to it is a fawn or calf-like animal named *th*am. A mysterious object is seen upon its back, which may be a trap of some description; but more probably it is intended to represent a fan or shade  provided by nature as an adornment or protection for the back of an inhabitant of the desert. Another monster is seen just above; a lion with the head of a hawk, the wings of an eagle, and the horns and feathers

[1] *Vide* Petrie's *Medum*, pl. xii. and p. 38.

of a god. This strange medley is called *tesh-tesh*, "the tearer-in-pieces." Behind it is a stag or fallow-deer (*henen*). Probably ordinary creatures were figured on the left-hand side, while monsters occupied the outer end. At the top are, first, the titles of Ahanekht: *ḥâ kherp nesti ha-nef set neb*, "the *ha*-prince, the regulator of the two thrones, who visited all countries (deserts)." This was followed by *zed medu ȧn Geb*... "words of the god Geb...,"[1] and the titles of Ahanekht.

INNER CHAMBER.

Thickness of Wall.—On the thickness of the wall on the right there remains a figure of Ahanekht (pl. xvi.) standing, holding a staff and napkin (?). He is clad in a leopards' skin, but the usual waist-cloth shows below, and the girdle is placed over the skin. A rich collar is upon his breast, and bracelets are on his wrists. In front of him is a column of hieroglyphs, reading:—

[*ḥer tep*] *ȧ*[*a ne Unt*] *meḥ ȧb seten khent ta pen mereru-ef Âḥa-nekht*

"The Great Chief of the Hare nome, satisfying the heart of the king within this land, beloved of him, Ahanekht."

Front Wall: *Left Side.*—Destroyed.

Right Side.—This is practically complete (pl. xvii.).[2] Ahanekht, followed by four attendants, is greeted by two persons, one of whom holds a branch. There are four lines of inscription above. The first contains a prayer to Osiris, lord of Dadu, *khent Amentiu*, and lord of Abydos. The second gives the titles of Ahanekht:—

[*Ḥâ kherp nesti*] *mer ḥen neter mery Zeḥuti neb Khemenu, senezem seth ḥet neter em ȧbd .....t ȧmakh Âḥanekht*

"[The *ha*-prince, regulator of the two thrones] superintendent of the priests, beloved of Thoth, Lord of Hermopolis, making sweet the scent of the temple on the feast of the month and of the half-month, the devoted one, Ahanekht."

The third line reads:—

[*seshep*?] *baq ne ḥet neter em ȧ uȧbu ȧn ḥâ kherp nesti, mer ḥen neter uȧb ȧa ne Zeḥuti ne ȧr maȧt* (?) *Âḥanekht.*

"[Receiving?] an olive branch[3] of the temple from the *uab*-priests by the *ha*-prince, regulator of the two thrones, great *uȧb*-priest of Thoth ..... Ahanekht."

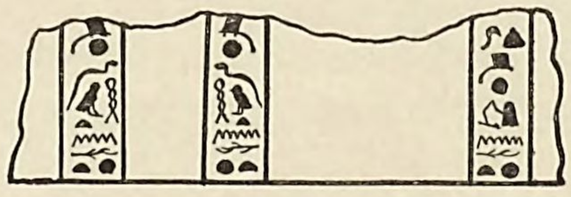
Over the four attendant figures are the words:—

sȧhutiu uȧbu ḥer khent kher qerȇf

"The treasurers, priests, overseers of the garden (?) and bearer of the bag (?)."

Right-hand Wall.—A fragment from the top of this wall at the outer end shows (pl. xvii.) that a papyrus-column was painted in the corner; beyond at the top are two lines of inscription, with a prayer to Thoth and the Southern *Atert* (see note on p. 25) for the prince, who is here called *ȧa ne net-ef*, "great one of his city," in addition to customary titles. Incense is being burned, and the leg of an animal offered before him.

Left-hand Wall.—All of this has been quarried away except about sixteen inches at the base, and the decoration appears to have been raised a foot above the floor. In the middle were two false doors (the lower parts of which are still preserved), giving the names of Ahanekht and Tehutinekht (see Fig.).



[1] See the complete formula in Tomb No. 8, p. 39.

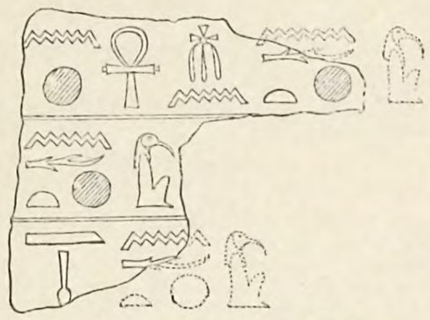
[2] It has been already published by Maspero in *Recueil de Travaux*, xiii., p. 192, from Nestor de l'Hôte's papers, iii., 291.

[3] According to Victor Loret, *baq* is the *Moringa*.

TOMB No. 6.

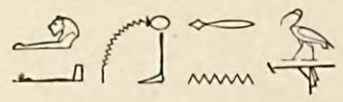
TOMB OF  "TEHUTI-NEKHT, BORN OF ANKH."

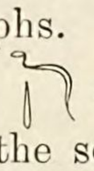
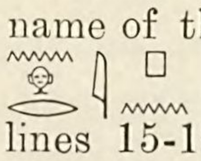
THIS tomb is almost entirely destroyed, a portion of the left-hand wall of the main chamber and an inscribed block, probably belonging to the lintel of the entrance doorway, alone remaining. The inscription, *Tehutinekht mes ne Ánkh*, fortunately preserves the name of the owner of the tomb and that of his mother.



BLOCK, PROBABLY FROM THE LINTEL.

TOMB No. 7.

TOMB OF THE  "GREAT PRIEST OF THOTH,"  NEHERA.

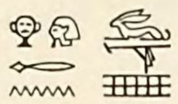
THIS tomb is almost entirely destroyed. It apparently consisted of a single chamber, 19 feet 7 inches deep by 19 feet 1 inch wide (see plan, pl. xviii.), the height of which was about 8 feet 6 inches. In the back wall there is a square doorway, apparently too low for a shrine, and probably the entrance to a sloping mummy-pit, which, however, was not cleared. The walls of the latter, so far as they were visible, are plain. A small false door is sculptured at the inner end of the left-hand wall. There are a few traces of painted *kheker* ornament at the top of the walls, but all vestiges of the paintings below have been destroyed. On the ceiling, however, are the inscriptions given in pl. xix. These inscriptions consist of funerary texts similar to those of the *Book of the Dead*, and frequently introduce the name and titles of the owner, which in one place appear to occupy several columns. It is impossible to restore the arrangement of these inscriptions. The outline of the remaining portion of the ceiling is marked on the plan, pl. xviii.; the fragment No. 7, with the rudely painted star, was in the left-hand outer corner, and beyond this the whole of the inner portion had been occupied by four transverse bands of inscriptions in short columns of smaller hieroglyphs. Of these bands large fragments remain, numbered 1 to 6 and 8 on the plate. Nos. 7, 8, 5, 3 and 1 are from the left-hand edge of the ceiling, the remainder from the other side, separated from the former by a broad space, from which the inscriptions have been worn away. It appears that none of the inscriptions are identical with any in the *Book of the Dead*, but in lines 5-7 of fragment No. 1 there is a passage very similar to chapters 57 and 60 of Lepsius' publication.[1] The columns run, as usual with texts in linear hieroglyphs, contrary to the direction of the hieroglyphs. Each column commences with the signs  *zed medu*, "pronounce the formula"; but the sense of the chapters runs on from line to line, so that these signs must be omitted in reading. The texts are divided into chapters with headings, "chapter of....," unfortunately in a very fragmentary state. The name of the deceased is frequently quoted as  *Neḥerà pen*, "this Nehera," but in lines 15-18 of the third fragment we find a number of religious titles preceding the name, and evidently placed at the end of an important section of the texts. These titles read :—

àmakhy ḥå kherp nesti mer ḥen neter ur dua (?) *uåb åa ne Zeḥuti em sekhert sebà heru àrt net-å maa neferu neb-*[*ef*] *em est* [*zesert*?]

"The devoted one, the *ha*-prince, regulator of the two thrones, superintendent of the priests, great of ....., great *uåb*-priest of Thoth in overthrowing the rebellious on the day of affixing the rates of contribution, seeing the beauties of [his] lord in the [sacred] places."

[1] R. Lepsius, *Das Todtenbuch der Aegypter*.

TOMB No. 8.

TOMB NAMING THE  "GREAT CHIEF OF THE HARE NOME,"  AHA-NEKHT,

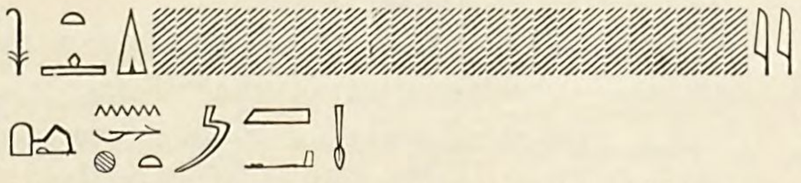
WITH THE

 "STEWARD OF THE ROYAL *Harîm*,"  AHA.

THIS tomb (see pl. xx.), consisting of a single small chamber, 9 feet 4 inches deep by 6 feet 7 inches across, and about 5 feet high, has recently been much mutilated, the inscriptions covering the greater part of the left-hand and inner walls having been almost entirely defaced. We possess, however, a photograph of the inscriptions on the inner wall, made by Major Brown, R.E., before its defacement, and Prof. Sayce copied the same, with a few others, in 1884.

The façade of the tomb is plain, but the lintel and jambs of the entrance doorway are inscribed with incised hieroglyphs. On the lintel are two lines reading ←𓇋 :—

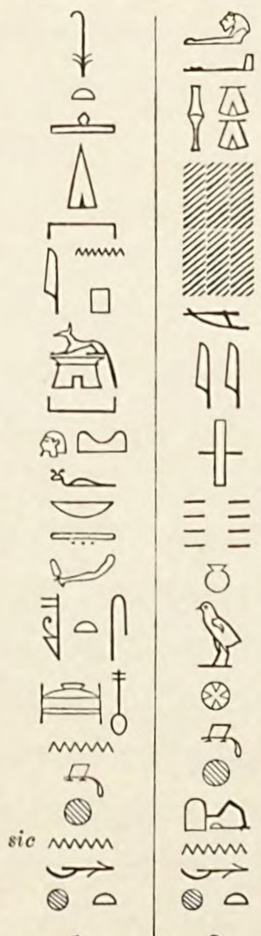
1. 

2. 

1. *Ḥâ kherp nesti mer ḥen neter Zeḥuti neb Khemenu* ..... *ȧmakhy Ȧḥanekht maâ-kheru*
2. *De ḥetep seten* ..... [*ȧmakh*]*y Ȧḥanekht maâ-kheru*

1. "The *ha*-prince, regulator of the two thrones, superintendent of the priests of Thoth, lord of Hermopolis, ... the devoted one, Ahanekht, justified.
2. May the king give an offering to ..... the devoted one, Ahanekht, justified."

On the left-hand jamb are two columns of hieroglyphs reading :—

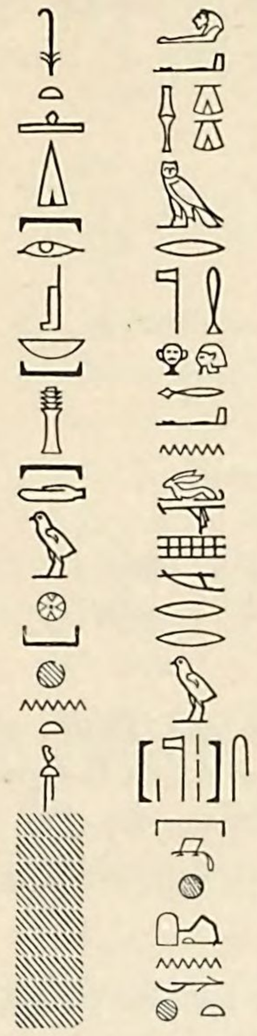


1. 2.

1. *De ḥetep seten Ȧnpu tep du-ef neb Ta-zeser ḳrest nefert ne ȧmakh Nekht*
2. *Ḥâ kherp nesti* ..... *mery ȧm Khemenu ȧmakh Ȧḥanekht*

1. "May the king give an offering to Anubis, Upon his Hill, lord of the Sacred Land, a good burial to the devoted one, Nekht (*sic*).
2. The *ha*-prince, regulator of the two thrones ..... beloved of him who is within Hermopolis, the devoted one, Ahanekht."

On the right-hand jamb are two columns reading ←𓇋 :—



1. 2.

1. *De ḥetep seten Us-ȧr neb Dedu kẖent Ȧmentiu* .....

2. *Ḥȧ kẖerp nesti mer ḥen neter ḥer tep ȧa ne Unt mereru* [*neteru*]*-es* [*ȧmakẖ Ȧḥanekẖt*

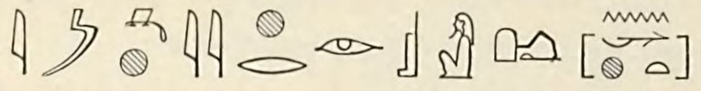
1. "May the king give an offering to Osiris, lord of Busiris, chief of the dwellers in the West .....

2. The *ha*-prince, regulator of the two thrones, superintendent of the priests, great chief of the Hare-nome, beloved of its gods, the devoted one, Ahanekht."

The sides of the doorway or "thickness of the wall" are plain.

CHAMBER.

The outer wall of the main chamber is quite plain, excepting a single line of hieroglyphs, incised and painted blue, immediately beneath the ceiling. This reads :—



ȧmakẖy kẖer Us-ȧr Ȧḥa-nekẖt, "Devoted towards Osiris, Aha-nekht."

Left-hand Wall.—At the top was a horizontal line reading :—



De ḥetep seten Geb ȧrt hen ne [*ḥesmen debh*[1]] *hetep perkẖeru dua neter* [*sẖed nef se-ȧkẖu ȧrt nef kẖet neb nefer ne ȧmakẖ Ȧḥa-nekẖt*

"May the king give an offering to Geb, the offering of a box of natron, a table of offerings, *perkheru* offerings, the praising of god, the performance of the reading of services for him, and the doing of all good things to the devoted, Ahanekht."

Below, in the centre of the wall, there was apparently a kind of false door, noticed by Prof. Sayce, but his sketch of it is not intelligible. At the sides of this were two vertical lines of inscription—that on the left the *De ḥetep seten* formula to Osiris for Aha, that on the right similar, but addressed to Anubis.[2] The rest of the wall on either side was occupied by an inscription also relating to Aha, written in sixteen columns, nine of which were on the left of the false door and seven on the right. Although divided in the middle by the false door and the two vertical lines just mentioned, the whole of these two inscriptions forms but one text. This has been much mutilated since 1889, but a careful copy has been made of what remains, and the text has been restored from Prof. Sayce's copy.[3] The resulting text is given in pl. xxi. :—

1. *mek ȧs ne mery neb-ef mer* (?) *ḥer* (?) .....[4]
2. *neb qres ha er est nefert em ḥest net* (?) *neb* [*ef*]
3. *en ȧu kẖen-ef en* ..... *gem sep-ef en*(?) *kẖsef-ef*
4. *ky medu ref ha-n*[*ȧ*] *er Ȧment nefert per-ȧ*
5. *gerg tẖenȧ-ȧ er est-ȧ ḥest ment em ȧ-*
6. *kẖenuti ȧr-nȧ ȧaut ȧsẖat nen tẖesest*
7. *ȧm-ȧ ȧr mȧn mek uȧ em rekẖ seten* .....
8. *kẖeper-kuȧ em ḥesy maȧ sebau* ...
9. *ne mesu seten rekẖ seshem ne ȧḥȧ se ne kẖent teken*

---

[1] This word, incorrect in Sayce's copy, is restored from the parallel inscription in Tomb No. 10.

[2] Published in *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii., p. 191 (lines 10, 11).

[3] Published *l.c.*, pp. 190-1, and partly translated by Maspero.

[4] Sayce has  indistinctly.

10. *em neb-ef en per-ȧ kher ubat-nȧ em ḥest-ȧ bak-ȧ kher est-ȧ*
11. *se-uȧḥ merut-ef em send khȧm ȧ ne uru*
12. *shu em khenfa er ḥeru-tep-ef per-ȧ ḳed gerg*
13. *kher zeru she shad nehut se-rud ȧr-nȧ*
14. *ȧs ḥer uȧrt kher redui neb-ȧ ḥes-uȧ*
15. *ne mert tem ua ȧn bak er ȧr ka-ef zedet sedemti-sen set*
16. *se-za-nef ḥest-ef ment ȧmakhy Ȧḥa*

1. "Behold thou the tomb of him who was loved of his master .....
2. The possessor of a funeral entering the goodly place (the tomb) by the favour of [his] master.
3. No one came to accuse him, no charge was found against him, he repelled
4. (every) other who spake against him. I have entered into the goodly West (tomb), my house was
5. furnished, I had grown old in my place; I was praised continually in the palace,
6. I performed numerous offices, there was no conspiracy (?)
7. against me ..... Behold I was a [true?] royal friend.
8. I became as one truly praised, the instructor
9. of (?) the children of the king, knowing the practice of the palace, a man of intimacy, entering
10. into the presence of his lord, not departing with ... .. in favour, a servant on a proper occasion,[1]
11. increasing his love by reverence, bending his arm to the great ones,
12. Without arrogance to his superior officers. My house was built provided
13. with fences (?), a reservoir was excavated, and trees planted. I made
14. a tomb on the hill-side under the feet of my lord, who praised me
15. in order that the servant might not degenerate into doing his (own) desire, Let it be said by those who hear it:
16. 'He has gone! he was praised continually, the devoted Aha.'"

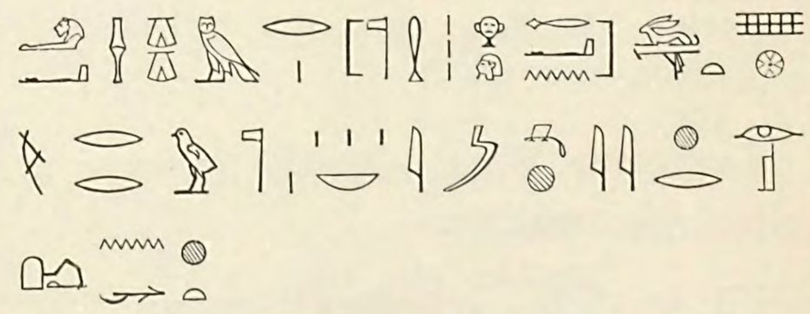
On the opposite wall (the right-hand wall) there are some traces of a scene of bulls fighting (?) and of a list of offerings.[2] Along the top of the wall is the following line of hieroglyphs, reading ←𓇋 :—



De ḥetep seten Zeḥuti de ȧtert res ȧtert meḥt pat ȧȧt neteru neb ȧr-sen nek khet neb[t] nefer[t] net ȧmakhy Ȧḥanekht maȧ kheru

"May the king give an offering and Thoth, the Southern Atert and the Northern Atert, the great cycle of all the gods, may they make for thee all good things for the devoted one Ahanekht, justified."

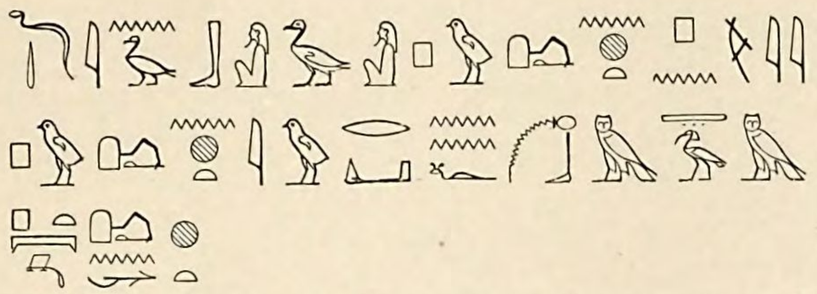
On the inner wall there were two horizontal lines of inscription for Ahanekht, and sixteen vertical for Aha. The greater part of these have now been cut away and destroyed; fortunately we possess a photograph taken by Major Brown in 1889, when the wall was yet intact. A copy of the original inscription was made in 1883 by Prof. Sayce, and has been published by Prof. Maspero.[3] The remains of the original were compared with Prof. Sayce's complete copy, and the result checked by Major Brown's photograph (see pl. xxi.). The two horizontal lines read:—

1. 

[1] It would perhaps be better to translate this line: "into the presence of his lord. I did not succeed in having a place opened to me (gaining admittance) (merely) by favour of a servant in charge of the place," i.e., the king himself desired his presence.

[2] The list of offerings with the line of inscription at the top is published by Sayce, *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiii., pp. 187-8.

[3] *L.c.*, pp. 189-90.

2. 

1. *Ḥá kherp nesti mer* [*ḥenu neter ḥer tep áa ne*] *Unt mereru neteru* (*s*?) *neb ámakhy kher Us-ár Áḥa-nekht*
2. *zed medu án Geb sa-á pu Áḥa-nekht pen mery pu Áḥa-nekht áu erde-n nef uáb em ta ákh em pet ámakh Áḥa-nekht*

1. "The prince, etc., great chief of the Hare nome, beloved of all (its?) gods, Ahanekht, devoted to Osiris."
2. "Speech by Geb. This Ahanekht is my son, Ahanekht is my beloved, there are given to him purity on earth and glory in heaven, the devoted Ahanekht."

The rest of the inscription is given in pl. xxi., and reads:—

1. *sáhu báti semer uá*[1] *áq em usthen nen semát-ef*
2. *mer neshui* (?) *senui ḥer tep em sekhert sebá*[2]
3. *maa se-ḥetep neteru mer sesh em per ánkh*
4. *uba nef zeseru nebu se áqer ne uba nef*
5. *áb sekhent-ne áun-ef er ḥát áqu nef ánu em*
6. *ḥest ne áat ne merer-ef neb-ef árf áaut*
7. *en thes ám-ef ám sy* (?) *senzu ne neb-ef ḥer tep ne per*
8. *ántiu khetem nu* (?) *nezem sheps*[*esu*]
9. *setha khener*[*t* ?] *ḥer-ef sepd áḥáu ḥemsu*
10. *kher sekher-ef ne áat ne meḥ áb ám-ef mery neb-ef maá*
11. *ne est áb-ef ḥesy-ef mer ḥet* (?) *seten ámakh Áḥa*
12. *meḥ áb* (?) *seten*[3] *em nefer* ..... *ámt khent* ..... *gem* (?)

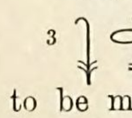
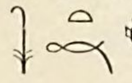
13. *usthen ḥer est shetat maa*
14. *khebt em zeseru semer uá en unt senu-ef*
15. *sedemu medu em uáu ám áb ne neb-ef*
16. *maá khetem ḥer khekert mer áp seten ámakh Áḥa*

1. "The treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, the confidential friend of the king, entering with strides, without being proclaimed
2. superintendent of the two ..... (?) chief in overthrowing the enemy.
3. Seeing him who pacifies the gods. Superintendent of the writings in the house of life,
4. who has penetrated all sacred things, an excellent man who has penetrated
5. the heart, whose quality has promoted him forward to the front, to whom presents enter by
6. favour, of the greatness of his love for his lord, uniting many offices,
7. in whom is no pride ..... reverence for his lord, chief of the house
8. of incense, sealing the valuable sweets,
9. conducting the harîm, his countenance prepared (i.e. attentive)
10. (the master of the ceremonies) by whose arrangement one stands or sits; of the greatness of the satisfaction of the heart with him, beloved of his lord truly
11. of the place of his heart, praised of him, the superintendent of the royal harîm (?), the devoted Aha.
12. Satisfying the heart of the king by good things .....
13. having free access to the hidden place, seeing
14. the dance in the private (places), the sole friend without his equal,
15. hearing the words in the solitary apartments, he who is in the heart of his lord
16. truly, locking up (lit. "sealing") the ornaments of the women, the superintendent of the royal harem, the devoted Aha."

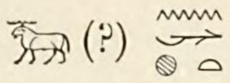
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[1] Cf. line 14.

[2] Cf. pl. xix., 3, lines 16, 17.

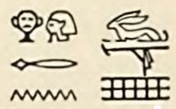
[3]  in Prof. Sayce's copy is an improbable group to be met with in the Middle Kingdom: read, therefore, 

TOMB No. 9.

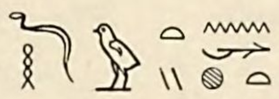
TOMB OF  KHNEM(?)-NEKHT.

THIS tomb (see pl. xx.) consists of a single small and nearly rectangular chamber, 10 feet deep by 4 feet 4 inches across, and about 4 feet in height. It is without architectural or other decoration, but there is a fragment of inscription cut in the rock above the entrance to it, giving the name of the owner, Khnem(?)-Nekht.

TOMB No. 10.

TOMB NAMING THE  "GREAT CHIEF OF THE HARE NOME,  AHANEKHT,

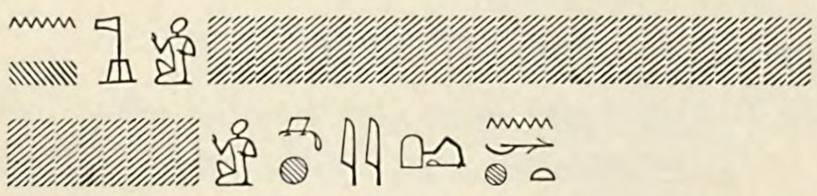
WITH THE

.....  TEHUTINEKHT.

THIS tomb (see pl. xx.) consists of a single small rectangular chamber, 8 feet 4½ inches deep, by 4 feet 6½ inches across and 4 feet 1½ inches high. It contained several inscriptions and scenes, but the latter are now, unfortunately, too mutilated to copy. None of the inscriptions have ever before been published.

The façade of the tomb, like that of No. 8, is plain, but the lintel and jambs of the entrance doorway are incised with hieroglyphs. Upon the lintel is the following mutilated inscription, reading ← :—

1. 

2. 

1. *Se<u>kh</u>er ne <u>th</u>et-nȧ ta pen em maȧ* .....
2. ... . *ȧma<u>kh</u>y Ȧḥane<u>kh</u>t*.

1. The manner in which I received this land by just right .....
2. ..... the devoted Ahanekht.

On the left-hand jamb are two vertical columns of hieroglyphs, reading:—



1. *De ḥetep seten Usȧr neb Dedu, <u>kh</u>ent Ȧmentiu [neb Ab]du ȧma<u>kh</u>[y Zeḥutine<u>kh</u>t]*
2. *Ḥaȧ <u>kh</u>erp nesti mer ḥen neter Zeḥuti neb <u>Kh</u>emenu mery ȧma<u>kh</u>y Ȧḥane<u>kh</u>t*

1. The *De hetep seten* formula to "Osiris, lord of Busiris, *khent Ament*, lord of Abydos, for the devoted Tehutinekht."
2. "The *ha*-prince, regulator of the two thrones, superintendent of the priests, beloved of Thoth, lord of Hermopolis, the devoted one, Ahanekht."

1. 2.

On the corresponding right-hand jamb are the two following columns of hieroglyphs :—



1. *De ḥetep seten Ȧnpu khent ... neter tep du-ef ȧm Ut neb ta zeser ḳrest nefer(t) net ȧmakh Zeḥutinekht*

2. *Ḥȧ kherp nesti mer ḥen neter ḥer tep ȧa ne Unt merɣ neteru-es neb[u] ȧmakh Ȧḥanekht*

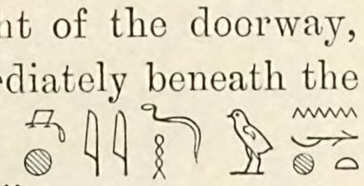
1. The *De hetep seten* formula to "Anubis, Within the temple, Upon his hill, Within Ut, lord of the sacred land, for a good burial for the devoted Tehutinekht."

2. "The *ha*-prince, regulator of the two thrones, superintendent of the priests, Great Chief of the Hare nome, beloved of all its gods, the devoted Ahanekht."

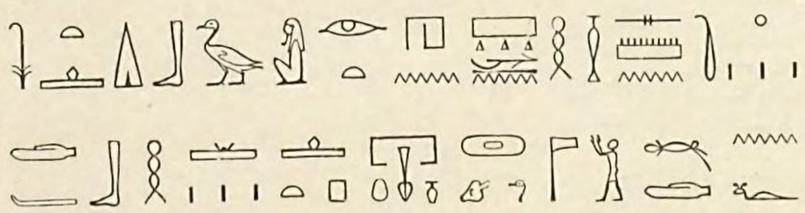
(xi.)

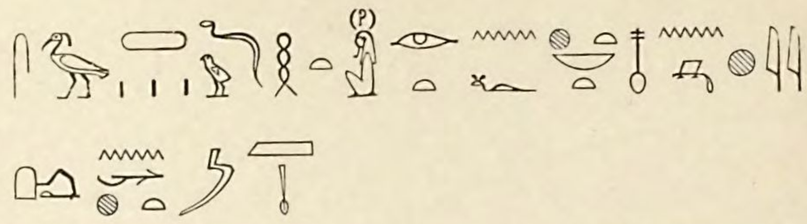
1. 2.

CHAMBER.

Front Wall.—The small space belonging to the front wall, on the right of the doorway, is blank; on the left, immediately beneath the ceiling, is the inscription  "The devoted Tehutinekht."

Left-hand Wall.—At the top of the wall, immediately beneath the ceiling, is the following line of hieroglyphs, reading:—

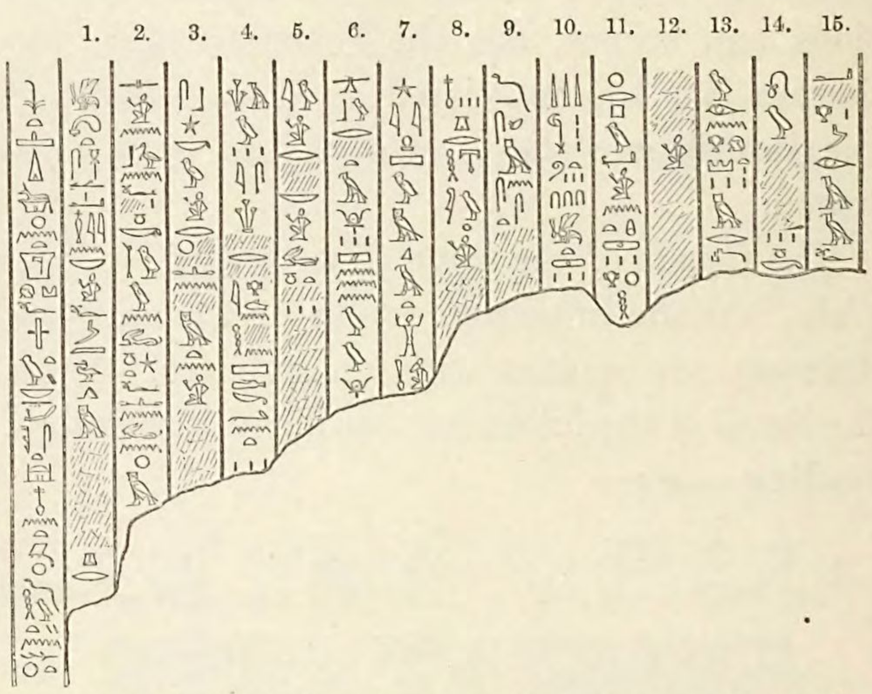




De ḥetep seten Geb ȧrt hen ne ḥesmen debḥ ḥetep perkheru dua neter shed-nef se-ȧkhu Zeḥut ȧrt nef khet nebt nefer[t] ne ȧmakhy Aḥanekht maȧ-kheru

"May the king give an offering to Geb, the offering of a box of natron, a table of offerings, *perkheru* offerings, the praising of god, the performance of the reading of services of (composed by) Thoth, and the doing of all good things to the devoted Ahanekht, justified."

The left-hand wall was almost entirely occupied by columns of inscription, which are now very much injured. The right column is separated from the remainder by a considerable space. It contained a prayer to Anubis, "Within the temple, Upon his hill, Within Ut and Lord of the Sacred Land, for a good burial for Tehutinekht."



The remaining fifteen columns reach to the end of the wall, and are as follows:—

1. *Sȧhu bȧti semer uȧti ḥesy ne neb-ef maȧ ȧq em [usthen]* .....

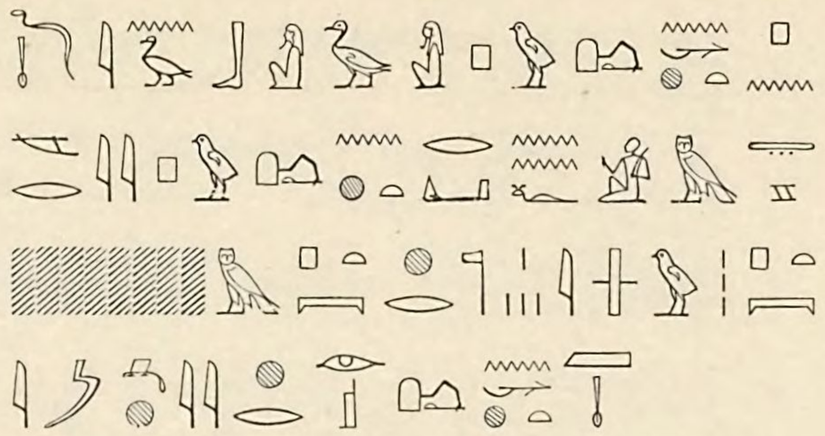
2. *se ne uba-nef [ȧb][1] nuk ḥemuu ne unut-ef nen un khem* .....

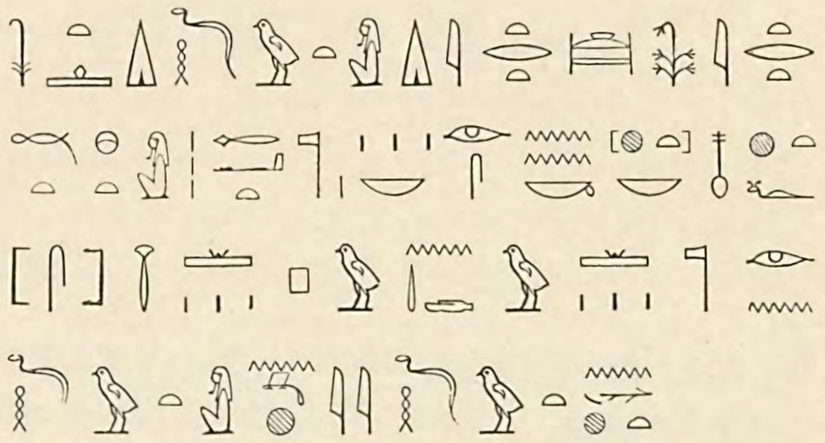
[1] Cf. the same phrases in the inscription of Aha, above, p. 41, l. 4.

3. *sebȧu-kuȧ rekh* .....
4. *ḥau ȧs* .....
5. *ȧu-ȧ* .....
6. *sebu er* .....
7. *sebay shu em qat kheru* .....
8. *neferu gerḥ shu* .. ..
9. *zed sedem sen set* .....
10. *zebȧu* (?) *khau, shet, metu* .....
11. *kherpu ȧ ne ta* .....
12. .....
13. *u ȧr-nȧ ḥer tep set mer nu* (?)[1] .....
14. .....
15. .. .. *ḥer maa-ef*

1. "The treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, the confidential friend of the king, the truly favoured of his lord, entering in .....
2. ..... I was a craftsman of his hourly task, there was nothing I was ignorant of .....
3. I was taught .....
4. .....
5. .....
6. bringing to the winter ships (?) and summer ships (?) .....
7. ..... free of loudness of voice .....
8. .....
9. Let them say who hear it .....
10. Tens of thousands, thousands, hundreds and tens .....
11. .....
12. .....
13. I acted as prince of the deserts, superintendent of hunting (?) .....
14. .....
15. .....

The right-hand wall was decorated with scenes and inscriptions. At the top of it are two parallel lines of inscription running from end to end, and reading:—

1. 

2. 

1. *Zed medu ȧn Geb sa-ȧ pu Ȧḥanekht pen mery pu Ȧḥanekht erde-n-nef user* (?)[2] *em ta* [*ȧkh*] *em pet kher neteru ȧmu pet ȧmakhy kher Usȧr Ȧḥanekht maȧ kheru*

2. *De ḥetep seten Zeḥuti de Ȧtert res Ȧtert meḥt pat ȧat neteru neb*[*u*] *ȧr-sen nek khet neb*[*t*] *nefer kheft* [*se*] *uaz pu ne medu neter ȧr ne Zeḥut ne ȧmakhy Zeḥutinekht*

1. "Speech by Geb, this Ahanekht is my son, Ahanekht is my beloved, is given to him power on earth, glory in heaven before the gods who are in heaven, the devoted Osiris, Ahanekht, deceased."

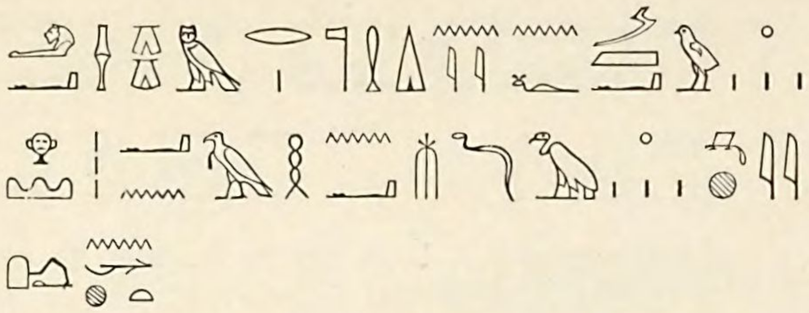
2. "May the king give an offering to Thoth, to the Southern and Northern Atert, to the great Ennead and to all the gods, that they may do for thee all good things according to the appointment (?) of the words of God which Thoth has made, to the devoted Tehutinekht."

Below this inscription there was a list of offerings and a scene of bulls incised.

Inner Wall.—On the inner wall are the remains of a row of seven vases for unguents, with two lines of hieroglyphs at the top, reading:—

[1] Cf. *Beni Hasan*, Part I., pl. xxx. (p. 49); Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii., 3, for the title *mer nu*.

[2] The same phrases occur in the inscription of Aha, above, p. 41.

1. 

2. 

1. *Ḥå kherp nesti mer ḥen neter dy ne nef maȧu Heru-set ȧntiu henå meszemt ȧmakhy Ȧḥanekht*

2. *Zed medu ȧn Geb sa pu Zeḥutinekht mery pu ȧmakhy Zeḥutinekht*

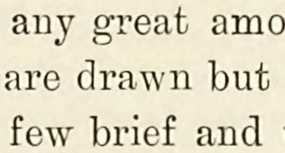
1. "The *ha*-prince, regulator of the two thrones, superintendent of the priests: to whom are given the offerings of the Bedawîn, frankincense and *ḳohl*, the devoted Ahanekht."

2. "Words spoken by Geb. Tehutinekht is my son and my loved one, the devoted Tehutinekht."

ADDENDUM.

To the list of those scholars who have worked at El Bersheh, I have the pleasure of adding the name of Professor August Eisenlohr, of Heidelberg, who has kindly sent me all that he copied on a visit to the place on the 19th December, 1869. These copies do not pretend to any great amount of accuracy, and the signs are drawn but vaguely. They comprise (*a*) a few brief and unimportant extracts from the tomb of Tehutihetep (No. 2); (*b*) a few notes from the tomb of Ahanekht (No. 5), at that time filled with rubbish; and (*c*) a nearly complete copy of the inscriptions in the tomb of Aha (No. 8). The last are very valuable, more especially as confirming the great accuracy of Professor Sayce's copies of the texts now destroyed. Some inscriptions in this tomb were no doubt hidden: thus, nothing is recorded from the façade, but almost all of the inscriptions in the interior of the chamber are copied. The following are the principal variants from or confirmations of the copies in our publication:—

Left-hand Wall (p. 23)—

Top line  (*sic*)

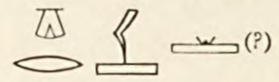
False door. About the middle is  the *uzat*-eye, with some illegible hieroglyphs on each side: but compare Sayce's sketch in the *Recueil de Travaux*.

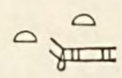
Long Inscription (pl. xxi.)—

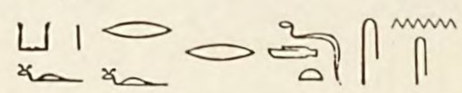
l. 3.  before *khesef* indicated, agreeing with Sayce's copy.

l. 10. 

l. 11. *kham* 

l. 12. 

l. 15.  ( twice).



l. 16. *ḥest* 

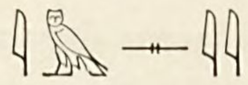
Right-hand Wall, top line as on p. 24 (and some unimportant jottings from the list of offerings).

Inner Wall (top lines, as in pp. 24-25)—

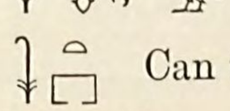
Long Inscription (pl. xxi.)—

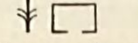
l. 4. 

l. 5. 

l. 7.  as Sayce.

l. 10. 

l. 12. 

l. 16.  Can this be right? Compare the inscription of Aha at Sheikh Sa'id, above, p. 10.

III. SELECTED INSCRIPTIONS FROM HET-NUB.

The following are attempts at transliterations and translations of most of the Middle Kingdom graffiti mentioned in the Introduction to this Memoir. The hieratic texts, which abound in difficulties, have been published by Messrs. Blackden and Fraser,[1] and on Plates xxii. and xxiii. will be found transcriptions of six of the best preserved of them. The numbers are those attached to the published *fac-similes*.

A word of explanation is required. The transcriptions in the plates are the result of prolonged study, but are still faulty, and it will be seen from the transliterations that several departures from these texts have been made in transliterating and translating the graffiti, thus correcting and amplifying the reading or suggesting alternatives. Much more remains to be done, and an examination of the original would doubtless clear up many obscure points, in spite of the admirable care and intelligence displayed by the copyists. Mr. Blackden deciphered a great part of the unfamiliar and difficult script on the spot, and we may trust his artist's pencil to have reproduced what he saw with fidelity.

1. RELATING TO THE GREAT *UAB*-PRIEST TEHUTINEKHT BORN OF TEHUTIHETEP.

GRAFFITO I. (See Pl. xxii.)

1. *Sȧḥu bȧti semer uȧti mer ḥen neter uȧb ȧa [ne Zeḥuti] [sat?] ne ȧr maȧt*

2. *men red tur ȧui ḥeby em use<u>kht</u>*[2] *ḥer tep ḥet neter mȧ qed-es se-<u>kh</u>ent ne Zeḥuti est-ef sa-ef zes-ef ne un maȧ mes ne Se<u>sh</u>yt* (?) *Rȧ* .....

3. *qereḥet sept <u>kh</u>et ta pen remt neb[t] em se<u>sh</u>u nezes qen en mȧt-ef neb qed ȧa <u>kh</u>epsh taui pen <u>kh</u>er merut-ef* .....

1. "The treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, the confidential friend of the king, the superintendent of the priests, the great *uab*-priest [of Thoth] the ..... of doing right,

2. firm of foot, clean of hands, holding festival in the hall, chief of the temple in its entirety, one whose position Thoth advanced, his own son of very truth born of Seshyt-Ra (?) .....

3. the remaining princely stock (i.e. remaining representative of a princely line?) throughout this land, when all men were in confusion, when the commoner was powerful, without his like, possessor of virtue, great of valour, this double land was possessed with his love .....

[1] *Collection of Hieratic Graffiti from the Alabaster Quarry of Hat-Nub.*

[2] The same phrases in hieroglyphics, pl. xv., line 9.

4. *ȧ ne ḥeru ..... ȧu neḥem-nȧ net-ȧ rȧ ȧua em ȧ ḥert mert net per seten nuk gert khenert-es rȧ ȧḥa-es nehat-es*

5. *em shedet sha ȧu se-ȧnkh-nȧ si seshemt er zer-es em thesu*

6. *nu ta ȧu en un uru-es mȧ shereru-es en [ḥer]*

7. *khen-en Khemenu Unu em mȧtet ȧu senesh-nȧ*
8. *mezt-ȧ ne bu neb nuk gert ḥau ḥer nefer*

9. *bȧt zefay-ȧ mery ȧntiu*
10. *smay ne hru nefer*[1] *Zeḥutinekht mes ne Zeḥutiḥetep*
11. *ȧnkh zet er neḥeḥ*

4. ..... I saved my city on the day of plunder from the painful terrors of the house of the king. Moreover I was its fortress on the day of its combat, its refuge
5. in embankment and marsh. I made it to live, it being regulated (by me) throughout in orderly arrangement (or with allotments)
6. of land, where there had been none, its great ones as well as its little ones, not within the memory of
7. Khemenu and Unu likewise. I opened
8. my house to everybody. Moreover I was exceeding in goodness,
9. marvellous in provisions, loved for frankincense,
10. a partaker in a holiday, Tehutinekht born of Tehutihetep,
11. living for ever to eternity."

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2. RELATING TO NEHERA BORN OF KEMA.

GRAFFITO XI. (See Pl. xxiii.)

1. *Renpet* vi. *ḥȧ kherp nesti mer ḥen neter ḥer tep ȧa ne Unt, rekhy seten ḥȧt qemȧu Neḥerȧ mes ne Kemȧ*

2. *qereḥet sept khet ta pen remt nebt usesh nezes* 3. *qen ..... zamu sa ȧut-ef ne est nebt* 4. *neb khepsh ȧa merut uba ra ne medu ḥenȧ-ef zed-en seten* 5. *ḥa-ef ref ȧu hru ne nezut ra ȧḥȧ-en ta pen er der-ef kher sekher* 6. *neb zedy-f sa Zeḥuti ne un maȧ mes ne Sesht* (?) *sat* (?) *Ra* (?) *utet* 7. *ka Maȧt neḥem khart ȧua mar* 8. *qres ȧau shed nekhen se-ȧnkh net-ef em* 9. *thesu seshem-es ȧu nen un erde-nes nen se-then ȧm-es uru-es* 10. *mȧ shereru-es per-en ḥenu-ef er zed nem* ..... 11. *menȧ-es se-ḥetept em ḥaut*

1. "Year vi, the *ha*-prince, regulator of the two thrones, superintendent of priests, great chief of the Hare nome, known of the king, fore-front of the South, Nehera born of Kema.
2. The clan-head (?) (*qereḥet*) remaining in this land when all men were base and the commoner 3. was strong[2] ..... the young men, careful of his goings in every place: 4. possessor of prowess, great of love, opening the mouth (affable or swift of retort?) to him who speaks with him: one of whom the king saith 5. 'would that he would come on the day of conference, then would this whole land follow every plan 6. that he might advise': a son of Thoth of very truth, born of Seshyt (?) daughter (?) of Ra (?) 7. engendered of the bull-husband (?) of Truth: rescuing the widow, saving the oppressed, 8. burying the aged, nurturing the child: making his city live with 9. allotments-of-land (?): its guide (?) when there was none who gave to it, not making distinctions in it, its great ones 10. like its young ones. His neighbours (?) turned out to say, 'who [could have brought it to] 11. anchorage?' satisfied with fields and years of allotments (?):

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[1] The same phrases in hieroglyphics, above, p. 26.

This is word for word the same as Gr. I. 3, but the translation in both cases is uncertain. In other difficult passages conjectural renderings and inconsistencies will be obvious.

renput net thesu se-nesh per 12. *ne ȧu?* (𓂋𓅱) *neb hru ne ḥaȧyt pekhert senbet net ȧu ȧnz* 13. *ḥebsu ne ȧu ḥay ȧteḥ* ..... *em ḥer tep* ..... 14. ..... *ne bu neb ref mereru neb-ef demzet ḥemut sheben ḥer zayu* 15. *ȧut thes bȧn, thes zamu-es ne khredu ne* 16. *mert ȧsha khepru-es* ..... *nes sekher-es gerg si* 17. *erde se ḥer ȧsht ȧt-ef ukhed* [*ḥemt*?] *er mest-es neb* 18. *maȧt* ..... *ȧsfet-ef erde per senu ḥetep em upt net qenbet* 19. *khepen kau zeda ȧuau neb rau ȧsha apdu* 20. *se-nezem seth ḥet-neter neb nefert mery ȧntiu smay* 21. *ne hru nefer Neḥerȧ mes ne Kemȧ*

opening the house to 12. every comer on the day of faction-fight, a healing medicine for him who came wounded, 13. clothes to him who came naked, a [firm] stronghold over the land (?), 14. to which all fled (?): beloved of his whole city, men mixed with women, 15. without plotting evil: organising its troops of youths of the 16. desire that its offspring might abound, arranging (?) for it its method, provisioning it, 17. restoring a man to the possessions of his father, endowing (?) a woman for her children: lord of 18. justice, repressing his (?) evil, causing suitors (lit. brothers) to go out satisfied with the judgment of the council. 19. wealthy in oxen, rich in fat oxen, possessing geese, abounding in wild-fowl, 20. sweetening the odour of the temple, possessing what is good, loving incense, partaker 21. of a good day (enjoying a festival), Nehera born of Kema."

GRAFFITO IX. (See Pl. xxii.)

1. *Renpet* vii *ḥȧ kherp nesti mer ḥen neter ḥer tep ȧa ne Unt rekh seten ḥȧt qemȧu, Neḥerȧ mes ne Kemȧ* .....

1. "The year vii of the *ha*-prince, the regulator of the two thrones, the superintendent of the priests, the Great Chief of the Hare nome, the royal acquaintance, fore-front of the South, Nehera born of Kema .....

2. *mer mer Ut-em-khet zed ȧr em un-ȧ em khred unen em*

2. The superintendent of the canal (?) Ut-em-Khet says:—Verily while I was as a child, being as a

3. *semer em se ne ȧkhenuti en senu-f mȧ* .....

3. courtier, as a person of the palace without an equal .....

4. *meḥ em amu za ȧui* (or *pa dedu*) *er fend heru ne tekau em ȧ* (?) *remt*

4. full of ..... the one placed to the nose (i.e. shielding the face) on the day of burning (amongst) all

5. *nebt mek seḥen-ȧ su ur ḥest-ȧ er se em ȧ*

5. people. Behold I protected (?) him (my sovereign): greater was my praise than that of a son with

6. *neb-ȧ em rekh ne bu neb zed-ȧ em maȧt ȧr em un-ȧ em*

6. my lord to the knowledge of all men. I speak in truth. Verily when I was as

7. *ḥest ukhed-nȧ si en ȧua-ȧ ky ḥer ȧȧt-ef en*

7. one praised, I deserved it (?). I did not rob another of his inheritance, not

8. *mar nezes em shedu-ef en un kȧu ḥer-ȧ*

8. was oppressed the little one in his bit of irrigated land, not were there others beside me

9. *em remt-nebt en un ukhed ḥest-tef upu ḥer*

9. amongst all people. Not was there one who deserved to be praised, but they practised

10. *ȧua ȧr-nȧ mer mer* (?) *em hau ḥȧ Neḥera ȧnkh uza senb*

10. robbery. I acted as superintendent of the canal in the days of the *ha*-prince Nehera, life, prosperity and health to him!

11. *ur ḥest-ȧ mȧ-ef er sa er sen de-nef uḥem-ȧ shefu*

11. Great was my praise with him more than a son and more than a brother. He allowed me to renew my dignity

12. *mȧ ky heru ȧr-nȧ seshem mȧ-ef em khenu per-ef en er-*

12. as on the other day (i.e. as under former princes?) I acted as tutor with him within his house,

13. *det ma-ȧ ḥau ne est nebt upu ḥer hab-*

13. not allowing the officers of any department to oversee (i.e. inspect) me. Nay but he sent

14. *nef uȧ er Ḥet-neb er ȧnt-nef ȧnkhu ne per seten* .....
15. *nȧ* ..... *mȧ sa mȧ sen ḥer perer-ȧ nȧ zes-ȧ*
16. *em ḥȧu-ȧ ȧr-nȧ gert seshem ḥer set ten ȧu qeb-kuȧ ḥer* .....
17. *mert sesh-nȧ ne mert-ȧ det ensen ȧu-sen gert rȧ em ment ȧr en uȧ* ..... *setep-ef-uȧ ȧu ger*[*t*]
18. *ȧr-nȧ entet en ȧrt ȧn ku remt ȧu kher ḥȧt-ȧ dun zerȧt-ȧ en-sen en ȧby sefet* .....
19. *shed* (?) *ne mert ȧr heru nefer shem-nȧ ȧa ȧb-ȧ fu ȧr-nȧ ȧt-nȧ res ȧu ȧr-nȧ nefer er remt nebt ȧnkh-nȧ Neḥerȧ*
20. *mes ne Kemȧ zed em maȧt*
21. *ȧr gert seqed neb fat-fi ȧ-ef ne tut pen ȧu-ef* [*er peḥ per-ef senb ȧr-nef ȧut-nef res*]

14. me to Het-nub to bring for him statues for the house of the king, favouring
15. me ..... like a son or like a brother. I came out myself
16. in my limbs (i.e. personally, "in the flesh"). Moreover I acted as leader upon this mountain. I was refreshed .....
17. of the desire. I opened (my house) to a friend to make them presents. Moreover I had them (i.e visitors) daily. Verily not one ..... he chose me. Moreover
18. I performed what had not been done by other men who had come before me, offering my hand to them without ceasing, slaying [oxen ?].....
19. ..... of the desire to make a good day (i.e. holiday). I went along, my heart enlarged. I had done that for which I had come. I had done more than any people. I swear by Nehera
20. born of Kema. I speak the truth.
21. And if, moreover, anyone travelling raise [his] hand (in adoration) to this image, he shall [reach his house in health and perform that for which he has journeyed]."

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3. RELATING TO THE *WAZÎR* AND NOMARCH KAY.

GRAFFITO VII. (See Pl. xxiii.)

1. *Renpit* v *ḥȧ kherp nesti mer ḥen neter ḥer tep ȧa ne Unt mer net ta za sab mer qemȧu ḥȧt ḥȧu em per seten Kay*
2. *sȧḥu bȧt semer uȧti mer net ta za sab rekh ne seten ȧu-ef em meten* (?) *ȧtef-ef nezes*
3. *qen en mȧt-ef neb khepesh ȧa mert uba ra ne medu ḥenȧ-ef un-ȧ em*
4. *khred en ȧden uȧ ȧu sped-nȧ zamu-ȧ ne khredu shem-*
5. *kuȧ er ȧḥa ḥenȧ net-ȧ nuk ȧr* ..... *-es em shedyt shȧ ȧu* ..... *ḥenȧ-a*
6. *upu ḥer shesu-ȧ Mezau Uauat* .....

1. "The year v of the *ha*-prince, regulator of the two thrones, superintendent of the priests, Great Chief of the Hare nome, governor of the city, chief justice, *wazîr*, *sab*, superintendent of the South, fore-front of the *ha*-princes in the king's palace, Kay.
2. The treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, the confidential friend of the king, governor of the city, chief justice, *wazîr*, *sab*, whom the king knew when he was still in the care of his father (lit., perhaps, "in the *meten* clothing (?) or tent (?) of his father"), a little one
3. but mighty (?), without his equal, possessor of valour, great of love, open of mouth to him who conversed with him. When I was a
4. youth I acted in my own name (lit. I did not substitute), I trained my troops of my young men. I went
5. to fight along with my city, I made its ..... in embankment and marsh [there was none] with me
6. excepting my own followers, the *Mezau* and *Uauat* .....

7. *qemȧu ta meḥu ḥemuu rȧ ȧ-kuȧ sep mȧru* .....
8. *net-ȧ er zer-es ḥenȧ-ȧ en nehu-es nuk gert neḥem mar mȧ* [*user*]
9. *ȧu ȧr-nȧ per-ȧ em use<u>kht</u>* (?) *ne ȧu neb heru ne ḥaȧyt un-ȧ em men* .....
10. ..... *ne ȧu neb ȧnzu er se-senb* ..... *ef au erde-nȧ re ne ȧu neb* .....
11. *ne ḥeqer ḥeqt net* (sic) *ȧu ȧbu nuk gert* .....
12. *ȧm-es uru-es mȧ <u>sh</u>ereru-es sa ḥeqa* .....
13. *Kay Zeḥutine<u>kht</u> Neḥerȧ Kay ȧn<u>kh</u> zet*
14. *ȧr gert se-qed neb fat-efi* [*ȧ-ef ne tut-pen ȧu-ef er peḥ*]
15. *per-ef senb ȧr-nef* [*ȧut res*].....

.....

23. *<u>kh</u>enti-ȧ ȧn neteru nu Unt* .....
24. *sa ȧn<u>kh</u> ḥa-ef mȧ Rȧ zet er neḥeḥ*

7. The South and the North land were working for me, I came; my lot had been fortunate ....
8. My entire city was with me without any deficiency, moreover I saved the poor from the [rich],
9. I made my house as a reception-hall for every comer on the day of faction-fight, I was as .....
10. ..... to every comer diseased to make whole his ..... I gave a girdle to [the naked] comer [bread]
11. to the hungry, beer to the thirsty comer. I moreover .....
12. in it, its great as its small, the son of a *heq*-prince [of very truth],
13. Kay's son Tehutinekht's son Nehera's son Kay, living eternally.
14. And if, moreover, anyone travelling raises [his hand (in adoration) to this image he shall reach]
15. his house in health and perform [that for which he has journeyed]

16-22. [defaced] ..... [and he who shall injure]

23. my statue, may the gods of the Hare nome [punish him .....]
24. Safety and life (behind him), protecting him like Ra for ever to eternity."

(N.B.—Line 24 is a salutation or complimentary phrase applied to kings, but here to the nomarch Kay.)

GRAFFITO VIII. (See Pl. xxii.)

1. *Renpit* vii *ḥȧ <u>kh</u>erp nesti mer ḥen neter ḥer tep ȧa ne Unt re<u>kh</u> seten* [*ḥȧt* (?)] *qemȧu mereru neteru-es nebu Kay Zeḥutine<u>kht</u> Neḥerȧ* [*Kay*]
2. *sȧḥu bȧti semer uȧtȧ mer net ta za sȧb Kay zed nuk sa se ne<u>kht</u> saa ma ne net-ef ne ḥentȧ erde si ḥer uat nebt gerg* ..... *dua* .....
3. *ne say* (?) *re<u>kh</u> seten ḥenȧ qenbet-ef uȧ ḥer <u>kh</u>u ȧut senu-ef ȧ-en nef qemȧu em kesu nuk sa se ȧut*..... *ef neb send ȧa <u>sh</u>efyt neb ḥert ȧa* .....
4. *ḥau ḥer nefer bȧt pe<u>kh</u>a <u>kh</u>et* (?) *<u>sh</u>u em senket* ..... *ta pen <u>kh</u>er merut-ef ḥȧ ne remt neteru em <u>kh</u>esefu <u>kh</u>entiu* ..... *uza-sen er ḥet-neter <u>kh</u>epen kau zeda* [*ȧuau*]

1. "The year vii of the *ha*-prince, regulator of the two thrones, superintendent of the priests, Great Chief of the Hare nome, the royal acquaintance, fore-front of the South, beloved of all its gods, Kay's (son) Tehutinekht's (son) Nehera's (son) Kay .....
2. The treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, confidential friend, superintendent of the city, chief justice, *wazîr*, and *sab*, Kay says: I am the son of a mighty man, the most discerning man that his city has seen (?) for centuries, putting it upon every road (i.e. guiding it), providing ..... so that it was praised .....
3. ..... known to the king and to his councillors, unique in exploits without a second (lit. his brother), came to him the South in obeisance; I was the son of a man without his [conqueror?] possessor of fear, great of reverence, possessor of terror, great of .....
4. ..... of face, excellent to a marvel, sincere of [heart (?)], free of dishonesty (lit. 'darkness') ..... this land possesses his love, men and gods rejoice in going south, the Southerners ..... when they visit the temples, wealthy in bulls, rich [in fat oxen],

5. *neb rau ȧsha apdu ȧa ȧkhu uȧb seteput se-nezem-ef seth ḥet-neter-ef sa Zeḥuti ne un maȧ utet ka maȧt en ua ..... ḥer-ef er per-ef er dua ka-ef rȧ neb ne ȧa .....*

5. possessor of geese, abounding in wild-fowl, great in altars, pure in choice viands, making sweet the odour of the temple, son of Thoth of very truth, engendered by the bull of Truth, not [fails] his city (?) (to visit (?)) his house in order to praise his *ka* every day of the greatness of the

6. *nefer ne ȧrert-ef nes ȧu ȧr-nȧ maȧt sped er ushem ȧu nehem-nȧ mar em ȧ user ȧu senezed-* (sic *sedem* ?) *nȧ neḥ* [*ne ȧutet*] *ȧh-es ȧu shed-nȧ nemḥ*

6. good that he does for it (i.e. the city). I did justice, more stiff (or penetrating ?) than the beard of barley. I saved the poor from the rich. I listened (?) to the cry [of her who was] bereft of her husband. I brought up the orphan.

7. [*ȧ*]*u thes-nȧ zamu-es ne khredu ne mert ȧsha kheperu-es ȧu gert zamu-es ȧq ne nezes ..... ḥems em peru-sen en ... sen em rek-ȧ* (?).....

7. I trained her troops of the young men in order that her progeny might abound. Moreover, her troops made (?) the poor to enter (?) and sit in their houses, not did they migrate (?) in my time .....

8. *per seten ȧu neḥem-nȧ net-ȧ heru ȧua em ȧ ḥert* [*mert net*][1]

8. the house of the king. I saved my city on the day of robbery from [the grievous] terrors [of]

9. *per seten nuk gert ȧteḥ*(?)*-es heru ȧḥa*[*-es ne*]*hat-es em* [*shedet sha*?] .....

9. the house of the king. Moreover I was its stronghold on the day of battle, its refuge in embankment and marsh (?)

10. *ne Unt khud* (sic) *ȧa ḥer qed ȧu gert se-ȧnkh-nȧ net-ȧ ..... er zer-es em thes*[*-u nu*]

10. of the Hare nome, deserving greatly entirely. Moreover I made to live my city throughout with regulations (or allotments ?) [of]

11. *ta ȧu nen un uru mȧ shereru-es en ḥer khen ne Khemenu Unu*

11. land when there had been none, its great ones being like its little ones (or there were no great men equal to its little ones), not within the memory (?) of Khemenu or Unu

12. *em mȧtet ȧr sesh-nȧ mezt-ȧ ne bu neb nuk neb nefert mery* [*ȧntiu*]

12. likewise. I opened my house to everybody. I was possessor of goodness, loved for [frankincense]

13. *smay ne heru* [*nefer*] *Neḥerȧ Kay maȧ kheru ȧnkh zet er* [*neḥeḥ*]

13. a partaker in a holiday, Nehera's son Kay, justified, living for ever and ever to eternity."

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4. RELATING TO THE GREAT *UAB*-PRIEST TEHUTINEKHT SON OF NEHERA.

GRAFFITO XII. (See Pl. xxiii.)

1. *Sȧḥu bȧti semer uȧti mer ḥen neter uȧb ȧa ne Zeḥuti .....*

1. "The treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, the confidential friend of the king, the superintendent of the priests, the great *uab*-priest of Thoth .....

2. *se-uaz se-ȧn men red tur ȧui sat ne ȧr maȧt .....*

2. making to flourish that which was decayed; firm of foot, clean of hands, saturated (?) with doing justice .....

3. *em usekht meseb seneter ne neb-ef ȧui-ef kher bu nefer meseb .....*

3. in the hall, offering incense to his lord, his two hands laden with good things, offering [animals],

4. *shenem apdu ne ka ne Zeḥuti meseb heḳt se-teken ḥekenu sedem .....*

4. trussing wild-fowl for the *ka* of Thoth, offering beer, introducing ointment and painting the eye .....

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[1] Cf. Gr. I., line 4.

5. *Zeḥuti meseb ȧui nefer ne ȧrt-ef nef erde shau nu ȧuau ḥer ȧkhu* .....
6. *ȧrt set meseb-nȧ shet ne ka ne Zeḥuti mereru Zeḥuti ma ef em khert ḥeru net* [*rȧ neb khepen*]
7. *kau zeda ȧuau undu ḥer apdu se-uaz ḥet neter* .....
8. *em ta ne ka ne Zeḥuti* ..... *uȧbu em* ..... *nebt*
9. *ḥeqt nezemt se-ḥetep-ef ḥet neter mȧ qed-es nezes qen ne mert neb qed ȧa*
10. *khepsh mereru net-ef demzet ḥemt shebnu ḥer zayu ȧut thes bȧn*
11. *ȧa ḥeqt nezem ȧntiu se-ḥetep-ef ȧnkhu-ef ȧmu-ef sa ḥeqa ne un maȧ* (or *Unt*?)
12. *khud ȧa ḥer qed seshem net-ef ȧu en un mȧ-es se-ȧnkh khart-es ȧr khredu* (?) *es*
13. *em shedet sha reth nebt beha ne Kay Zeḥutinekht Neḥera Zeḥutinekht ȧnkh zet*
14. [*ȧr*] *gert seqed neb fat-efi ȧ-ef ne tut-pen ȧu-ef er peḥ*
15. *per-ef senb ȧr-n*[*ef*] *ȧut nef res*

5. Thoth. Offering good ..... of what had been prepared for him, placing slices (?) of fat oxen upon the altars .....
6. ..... offering the censer to the *ka* of Thoth whom Thoth loves to see (lit. 'one whom loves Thoth his sight') every day, wealthy
7. of oxen, rich (lit. 'fat') of fatted oxen, *undu*-oxen with wild-fowl. He renews the temple .....
8. with bread for the *ka* of Thoth [apportioning?] the priests .....
9. sweet beer, he satisfies the temple (i.e. its officials) in its entirety, the small and great in their desire (?), possessor of a regulating-principle, great of
10. valour, loved by all his town(s-folk), women as well as men, not conspiring evil,
11. great of beer, sweet of incense, he satisfies his living ones (i.e. his retainers) ..... the son of a *haq*-prince of very truth.
12. ..... great in entirety, guiding his city when there was nothing in its possession (lit. 'hand'), supporting its widows, making its children
13. with (a gift of?) irrigated land (lit. embankment) or marsh (?), all people flee to Kay's (son) Tehutinekht's (son) Nehera's (son) Tehutinekht, living for ever.
14. And if moreover anyone travelling raises his hand (in adoration) to this image he shall reach
15. his house in health and perform that for which he has journeyed."

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5. RELATING TO AMENEMHAT SON OF NEHERA.

GRAFFITO X. (not transcribed).

1. *Renpet* XXXI *sep tep sed-ḥeb seten bȧt Kheper-ka-Rȧ de ȧnkh zet*
2. *Perkheru* ..... *ne ka ne* .....
3. *Sȧhu bȧt Ȧmen-em-ḥȧt mes ne Sat-ḥez-ḥetep maȧ kheru*
4. *Erpȧ ḥȧ sȧḥu bȧt semer uȧti Kay sa Neḥerȧ sa Ȧmenemḥȧt*
5. *zed ȧu-nȧ ȧa er Ḥet-Neb er ȧnt* ..... *seten bȧti Kheper-ka-Rȧ ȧnkh zet er neḥeḥ*
6. *em ḥesy ne neb-ef merer-ef ne heru neb ȧnkh-nȧ*

1. "The year XXXI of the first occasion of the festival of the *sed-heb* of the king Kheper-ka-Ra, giving life for ever.
2. A *perkheru* offering to the *ka* of .....
3. The treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, Amenemhat born of Sat-hez-hetep deceased,
4. The *erpa*-prince, the *ha*-prince, treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, confidential friend of the king, Kay's son Nehera's son Amenemhat
5. says:—I came along to Het-Nub
   in order to bring [monuments for] the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheper-ka-Ra, living for ever to [eternity],
6. as favoured of his lord whom he loves every day. I swear by

7. *Usertsen zed-ȧ em maȧt nuk res tep shu em*

8. ..... *ḥer ḥen neb ne per seten nuk gert*

9. *geru khems sa em rekh* .....
10. *em maȧt en ȧs em gerg sȧḥu bȧti semer uȧti*

11. *mer ḥen neter Kay sa Neḥerȧ sa Ȧmenemḥȧt maȧ kheru* .....
12. ..... *se-qed neb reth nebt* ..... *ne tut-pen*

13. *ȧn Zeḥuti ḥes-ef su ȧr gert ḥezt-fi* ..... *tut-ȧ ȧn neteru*
14. *nu Unt khesef-sen nef* (?) *em ȧat-ef em* ..... *ef*

7. Usertsen that what I say is in truth, I am watchful of head, free of
8. slumbering on any command of the king's house, I, moreover, am
9. silent, obsequious .....
10. in truth, not indeed in falsehood, the treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, the confidential friend of the king,
11. the superintendent of the priests, Kay's son Nehera's son Amenemhat, justified.
12. O every ..... every ..... everyone who sails, every man [who puts his hand forth] to this statue,
13. Thoth shall favour him, but as to him who injures ..... this statue, the gods
14. of the Hare nome shall punish him in his office and in his .....

Mr. G. WILLOUGHBY FRASER'S REPORT

ON THE

SURVEY OF THE WADY DÊR EN-NAKHLEH.[1]

Dêr en-Nakhleh, commonly called El Bersheh in the guide books, is a village with a chiefly Coptic population some five miles south of Rôda on the east bank of the Nile. The valley in which the tombs are found lies about three quarters of a mile behind the village, in the hills.

In dealing with the tombs of Dêr en-Nakhleh we are met by a more complex problem than at Beni Hasan, where all the tombs were upon practically the same level. In the present case we have a large valley with tombs scattered at all levels on the hills on either side. Again, at Beni Hasan the tombs were all of nearly the same age, whilst here they range from the Vth to the XIIth Dynasty. Hence it will be as well to describe the ground generally before taking the tombs in detail.

On commencing the survey Mr. Blackden and I laid down a base line at the mouth of the valley, which we will here suppose to be the starting-point of all measurements.

The valley may be divided naturally into three parts or sections. At its mouth it measures some 300 yards across, and is a sandy plain which slopes gradually up till it reaches a spot where the contours of the hills on either side join at a distance of 400 yards from our base line; in this distance it rises 12·5 feet, and a rock face 4 feet in height forms the boundary of the first section.

Section 2, thus starting at a level 4 feet higher than the end of No. 1, is in rock scarcely covered with a thin layer of sand. It measures 367 yards in length, with an average width of 50 yards, and ends at a spot called by us the Bab or "gate," where a rocky barrier some forty feet high in the centre crosses the valley, and has been burst through midway by prehistoric torrents.

Section 3. Beyond the Bab the ravine widens out on the northern side in a semicircle; it then gradually narrows to its termination at a distance of 385 yards from the Bab, being here on an average only 100 feet wide. The sides of the ravine here are precipitous, and it has never been a pass to the desert beyond; but as a vast quarry it has been very important. The end of the valley is surrounded by the openings into

[1] The Map of the Wady prepared by Messrs. Blackden and Fraser is more detailed than the sketch in pl. ii., which has been made from it by Mr. Newberry. The original is also coloured to show the character of the surface. The tombs are numbered in the Report, but are not so distinguished in the Map, nor could they be marked individually in the sketch now published.—F.L.G.

enormous underground quarries, which are also found all along its sides. Immense masses of stone have been extracted from them; the quarry at the end of the ravine, which is about the largest of all, supplying alone more than 250,000 cubic metres of stone. It appears to have been worked chiefly in Ptolemaic times.

The ceilings of these quarries are lined out in red with demotic notes and marks, and cartouches sometimes appear on the pillars which were left to support the roof. The cartouche of Nekhtnebef appears several times in the large quarry on the northern side above the Bab. In the same quarry there are rough drawings in black, representing a girl smelling a lotus with a doll (?) in her right hand, two crocodiles, one of them devouring a fish, also a hippopotamus, and various red quarry marks.

The longest demotic graffiti are on two pillars in one of the lower quarries at the end of the ravine on the southern side. They are dated, and appear to refer to the making of a statue or statues. Almost opposite the quarry in which they occur is another, in which there is a rather carefully painted figure of Osiris seated, with the remains of short inscriptions in both hieratic and demotic. This drawing is in green, and looks like the work of a scribe rather than that of a quarryman.

Considering the great area of the quarries, the pillars which were left to support the mountain above were few and small, as will be seen by a reference to the map; but the roof has fallen in only in a few places, and nowhere has the whole quarry collapsed, showing how well the workmen knew their material.

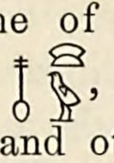
The methods employed in the excavations do not call for special remark, except that when hard nodules were met with in the lime-stone rock they were removed by heating them with fire and then probably splitting them by throwing cold water on the heated stone. The smoke of the fire has made a narrow fringe round the nodule, but has not spread over the remaining surface of the wall or roof.

And now, leaving the narrow ravine, let us return to the mouth of the valley and examine the tombs. They are scattered on both the shoulders of the hill, and belong chiefly to two periods, namely the Vth—VIth and the XIth—XIIth Dynasties.

North Side.

Here we can count thirty-six rock-cut tombs. The earliest appear to be A and B, which are situated on a low level some distance to the north of all the others. A has the remains of an early inscription on the façade outside. In plan it is a small square chamber, with several box-like receptacles cut in the walls. The owner's name is unfortunately destroyed, but his wife's appears as Hathor-en-ankh. The style of the inscription and the name point to the Vth or VIth Dynasty. B is uninscribed.

From these tombs we make our way across steep slopes to the ancient road which runs up the face of the hill, passing by tomb C, which is unfinished, but which has two so-called Proto-doric columns half completed in it. The entrance is by a plain rectangular doorway cut in the façade, and leading into a single chamber, which measures 205·6″ × 288″, and is divided by an architrave 4·75″ deep, supported by the above-mentioned columns. The columns are octagonal, the average width of the sides being 9·25″, and are surmounted by an abacus 3·25″ deep, measuring 22″ along the architrave, which is unfinished at the back. This tomb is probably not older than the XIth Dynasty. Proceeding up the road we reach a spot where two paths leave it and where it turns abruptly to the north. Here we follow the small path and find ourselves below a group (D) of three

tombs, *a*, *b*, *c*, and several tomb-shafts. All these seem to belong to one period, probably the VIth Dynasty. Two of them, *a* and *b*, are uninscribed, but *c*, which has been used as a quarry, has an inscription outside on the façade. Unfortunately this is in very bad condition, but the *ka*-name of an unknown king, reading Nefer-khau , is still clear. It resembles that of Assa and other kings of the Vth and VIth Dynasties. Inside the tomb there is an uninscribed false door still intact.

Following the track to our right, we scramble over some tomb-shafts up the cliff, passing the five uninscribed tombs at E, and then reach a narrow platform, on to which at F about a dozen tombs (*a*—*k*) opened. None of these are inscribed, and most of them have been extensively quarried, so that we have been obliged to group several distinct tombs under the letter *e*. We have no direct evidence as to the age of the group; but the next tomb, which is on almost the same level, contains an inscription of the XIth or XIIth Dynasty a good deal defaced, from which it appears that a certain Tehuti-nekht, born of Teta, restored the monuments of his forefathers and this tomb in particular. Hence the supposition arises that all this group belongs to about the VIth Dynasty.

Between the two tombs *g*, *h* of the group F there is a stairway cut in the rock, and the path eventually leads to the highest level of all, in front of the large tomb of Tehuti-hetep. But before describing this range, let us return for a moment to the great road.

At Beni Hasan there were three great roads up to the tombs, but here there is only one, and it does not seem to have been made with reference to the upper range of tombs, for just below the tomb *c* in group D it turns off, as we have seen, and follows the contour of the hill for some 100 yards to the north, where it again strikes upwards, and reaching the summit of the hill, stops finally within 30 yards of the great shaft marked G on the map. Of the chamber which doubtless covered this shaft there are now no traces, but it must have been an important one, for the shaft is exceptionally large, and though now partly filled with rubbish, measures over 50 feet in depth. Mr. Blackden and I began to clear it, but owing to the difficulty of lifting the great boulders with which it is filled, without big tackle, the work had to be discontinued before the sepulchral chamber was reached.

The great road certainly appears to have been made with reference to this tomb alone. Unfortunately we do not know who was buried there. It might be Kay, the father of Tehuti-hetep, whose tomb we did not find in the upper group; but there is absolutely no evidence, beyond that it belongs to the Middle Kingdom, proved by the pottery scattered around it and by its general likeness to the shafts in the other tombs of the same period here and elsewhere.

From G we return across the hill, leaving a small open quarry on our right, and follow the road till we reach the level of the upper tombs. Here we take a narrow track which passes the mouths of several quarries having remains of Coptic dwellings outside, and find a tomb which has been almost entirely quarried out of shape, but which is still just recognisable as such. There appear to be the remains of hieroglyphs on the northern wall. Passing a long narrow quarry we reach the entrance of H, another quarry which is remarkable, as it runs underground from this point to the south-east extremity of the upper range of tombs, making a complete arc in the solid rock behind the tombs.

Before reaching H we pass an open shaft, the mummy-pit of some destroyed tomb. We cleared it, and found chips of a large painted sarcophagus of wood of the Middle Kingdom, which appears to have been literally hacked to bits with an adze. The chamber also contained an alabaster head-rest of rather rough work,

made in three pieces; the painted inscription had unfortunately been washed off by successive rains.

At No. 1 (compare sketch survey on pl. iii.) we meet with the first of the great XIIth Dynasty tombs. It was made for Nehera's son Tehutinekht. In plan (see pl. iv.) the tomb consists of a rectangular chamber with flat ceiling, measuring 250″ × 314·15″, with a height of 145·25″, cut in the solid rock. The roof is ornamented with stars and lines of inscription; it is not supported by columns. The outer doorway probably had plain square jambs and lintel. In the centre of the eastern wall is a small shrine, raised 16·25″ above the floor of the main chamber. The shrine doorway has a height of 86·05″, and width of 57·4″, the jambs being 12·5″ wide. Inside, the shrine measures 47·2″ × 67·1″, with an average height of 87·5″. It contained a seated statue of Tehuti-nekht cut in the rock, but this has been defaced.

In the centre of the main chamber is a single great shaft, measuring 154″ × 68″, which we were unable to clear, as the great mass of the fallen roof lies over it.

Here it must be remarked that all the upper tombs have suffered more or less severely from a great earthquake. The wave seems to have been almost straight from east to west. The date of this earthquake is not known, but the tomb we are dealing with gives us one important piece of evidence, namely, that before the roof fell in during the earthquake the front wall of the tomb had been almost entirely quarried away. This accounts for the fact that but little of the front wall and none of the doorway were found in our excavations.

Though the Egyptians robbed tombs, it seems improbable that they would be guilty of the open sacrilege of quarrying a tomb until at any rate very late times. Again, the only quarry on this side of the valley, which has suffered much from the earthquake, is that which was extensively worked under Nekhtnebef, showing that in his time (the XXXth Dynasty) there was no necessity to quarry tombs, as large quarries were then being worked here. From a consideration of these facts I am inclined to the opinion that the quarrying of the tombs began about the time of the second Persian rule, and that shortly afterwards, somewhere about the year 320 B.C., the great earthquake occurred, which to a great extent buried the tombs and blocked the quarry of Nekhtnebef. This event led to the abandonment of all quarrying along the higher levels, and the commencement of the great series of quarries in the ravine at the base of the hills.

The effect of the earthquake on Tomb No. 1 was to cause the north and south walls to fall inwards, and the roof to shoot forward in a westerly direction, where the front portion now lies, altogether outside the tomb. The back portion of the roof was split up into some four or five great masses, and fell inside the chamber area, but the shrine and east walls escaped with only slight damage. I was thus able, with Mr. Blackden's assistance, to rebuild a large portion of the south wall, of which we found the greater part in the course of our excavation.

We will now pass on to No. 2, between which and No. 1 there is an uninscribed square tomb (K, pl. iii.), which we found completely buried. Its floor was at a somewhat lower level than No. 1. The upper parts of the walls have been quarried away; the chamber measures 117·4″ × 134·5″, and contains two shafts; the door faces west, and measures 29·5″ wide.

Tomb No. 2.—This is the finest tomb in the group. It was made for Kay's son Tehuti-hetep (see Part I., pls. i.-iv.).

It is entered through a large portico having two columns with round shafts and palm-leaf capitals. The bases of the columns are circular, and raised 6 in. above floor-level. The lower diameter of the columns is 26 in.; the capitals were surmounted by square abaci of the same width as the architrave which they supported,

namely 25·5″. The architrave has no projecting pilasters or *antae*, but the line of the side wall is interrupted, and recedes 22·6″ at the points where the architrave meets it on either side. Above and in front of the architrave was a cornice semi-square in section, but without the dentils seen at Beni Hasan.

The ceiling of the portico is flat, and painted with yellow ✣ on a fine blue ground and with some lines of inscription.

The columns, architrave and capitals were painted to represent granite; the architrave was inscribed on both sides with a finely cut list of titles, in large hieroglyphs painted green.

A wall 58·4″ thick divides the main chamber from the portico. The doorway in this wall measures 50·4″ wide × 130·0″ high; the threshold is raised 17·9″ above the level of the floor of the portico. The doorposts and lintel project slightly, and the jambs of the doorway are inscribed with the titles of the owner. The great door was in one leaf; the sockets of the doorpost remain.

The main chamber measures 308·3″ long and 248″ broad; it was lighted from the door, and has a height of 163·2″.

The ceiling is flat, and painted with yellow flowers ✣ on a blue ground, with bands of inscription down the middle. There are no columns in the chamber, which thus differs from the best examples at Beni Hasan. In the centre of the northern wall is the door of the shrine, 97″ in height and 50″ in width, approached by three steps.

The shrine is a rectangular chamber, 99·5″ long and 49·8″ wide, with a flat roof, and height of 97·8″.

Here again we have an important difference from Beni Hasan; for if there was a *ka*-figure in this shrine, it was moveable and not, as at the former place, cut in the solid rock.

The main chamber contains no mummy-pits, a fact which puzzled the ancient spoilers very considerably, and caused them to dig a great trench in the solid rock across the centre of the tomb from east to west, and to make various smaller excavations at the four corners and other parts of the floor, and a considerable trench in the shrine floor. This labour must have employed them several weeks, but was finally successful, as they succeeded in hitting upon the passage to the burial chamber, which was most ingeniously contrived as follows.

Completely outside the portico, and on the left-hand side of the outer court, the architect sunk a large shaft measuring 133″×74·5″, in the northern side of which was the entrance to a passage 86″ high, 74·5″ wide and 55 feet long. The passage ran level under the main chamber of the tomb, and only slightly below the floor. It ended in a small chamber 97″×108″, with a small square cavity cut in the middle of the floor, possibly for the foundation deposit.

The outer well was no doubt very carefully paved over, or it would never have escaped the plunderers' notice, for they cleared another small shaft which is situated in the other corner of the outer court. They broke into the passage from the main chamber, and probably found the end of the passage walled up with stone in front of the burial chamber, as we found a great deal of stone in the passage, as well as fragments of the painted scenes from the main chamber, showing that the tomb was plundered before the earthquake.

The passage was carefully cleared, and on the ground, amongst fragments of the burnt coffin, nearly all the pieces of a beautiful thin alabaster cup were found. Fragments of the coffin, a wooden inscribed kohl-pot, mummy-cloth, and a number of pieces of inlays made of paste, with one fragment of dark blue glass amongst them, were also found; the inlays seem to have been for the large sacred eyes at the ends of the coffin. Amongst this miscellaneous collection I myself picked up a long steatite bead of the XIIth Dynasty, with the names of Usertesen and Amenemhat on either side, and

a fragment of one of the blue painted XVIIIth Dynasty jars, which latter gives us a clue to the date when the tomb was plundered.

In the burial chamber were found three large red jars of XIIth Dynasty shape and material.

The clearing of the outer court was a difficult business, owing to the great size of the fragments from the roof of the portico and from the architrave. We found a fragment of a large inscribed table of offerings in alabaster, and several fragments of a statue of a woman in limestone, rather over life size, but unfortunately too much broken up for us to identify it.

The workmanship in this tomb is good. The walls were well dressed, boulders were cut out and replaced by slabs of good stone. The capitals of the columns appear to have presented a good deal of difficulty on account of bad stone, as I found them very much built up with wedges of good stone cemented in. The work of the masons at Dêr en-Nakhleh was more difficult than at Beni Hasan, on account of the greater quantity of boulders.

The general effect of the outside of the tomb before the earthquake must have been very fine, much more imposing than that of any tomb at Beni Hasan; but inside the chamber is low, and lacks the columns which adorn the latter.

The effect of the earthquake on No. 2 was to cause the entire roof of the portico to move forward in a south-westerly direction. At the same time the east wall of the main chamber fell inwards, and the roof cracked, but did not come down. In the portico, the front part of the roof and architrave slipped forwards; the columns collapsed, falling westwards; the architrave turned clean over, so that the largest fragment of it is now lying upside down; the back part of the portico roof broke up, and one huge fragment fell in a sloping position across the door of the main chamber, where it still remains, as we feared that the wall of the main chamber would fall outwards if we moved it.

This tomb seems to have escaped being quarried before the earthquake, or if any was cut away it was only a little from the outside. But the next tomb, No. 3, which belonged to a man named Sep, had been very much cut about, and it was probably its downfall that cracked the roof of Tehutihetep's tomb so badly.

Tomb No. 3.—The inside of this tomb (see pl. x.) had been entirely destroyed by quarrying, as far as we could judge, and it was impossible either to move or to work beneath the huge masses of fallen roof with which it was filled. There seems to have been no portico; but between No. 3 and the next tomb, No. 4, there are the remains of a small shrine belonging to tomb No. 3. The doorway of this shrine was well cut, and had a cornice and moulding, parts of which we found; but unfortunately the greater part both of the shrine and the next tomb, No. 4, were quarried away before the earthquake.

Tomb No. 4.—This belonged to Nehera, whose mother's name was Kema. The tomb (see pl. x.) consisted of two chambers, the dimensions of which we cannot give with certainty, as the front chamber had been quarried, and the inner one (as was the case in tomb No. 3) was inaccessible to us. The front chamber was probably square; it measured 204·5″ in width. In the north wall of the outer chamber was a door 43·5″ wide, leading into a further chamber, apparently about the same size as the first, but with the roof entirely fallen in.

The outer chamber had been finished and painted. In the centre is a large shaft 52·5″×115″, which has been plundered, and on the top of it were picked up fragments of wooden barks and the figures belonging to them. The walls of the inner chamber had been dressed, but never painted.

Apparently the earthquake shook this tomb after the front wall had disappeared, so that, of the side walls, the west wall fell into the tomb of Sep and the eastern one fell into the front chamber; the roof at the same time split in the middle, and sank upon the remains of the walls on either side. The inner chamber collapsed inwards on itself.

Between Nos. 4 and 5 there are probably the quarried remains of several other tombs, at a slightly lower level than No. 4; but as the two marked L and M on pl. iii. were found at a depth of three metres in the limestone chips, and are entirely destroyed to within 3″ or 4″ of the floor-level, we did not judge it expedient to try for others. At M there is a fragment of a cornice in the front of the fallen-in quarry. This probably marks another tomb on the same level as Nos. 2, 3 and 4.

L and M were small chambers, square in plan, with doors facing west; M measured 113″ × 87·4″. It contained one shaft 80″ × 40″, and a small false door on the northern wall, on which only two letters remained; the walls all round were quarried to within 3″ or 4″ of the floor. N is now a fallen-in quarry, but was very likely once a tomb, as there was certainly a tomb which had been finished and painted on this side of No. 5. A large block from this tomb was found in clearing the latter, and the corner of the interior wall still shows in the quarried north side of No. 5.

Tomb No. 5.—We have again a large and important tomb (pl. xii.). It belonged to Ahanekht, and Tehutinekht his father. In plan it consists of two chambers, without portico or columns either inside or out.

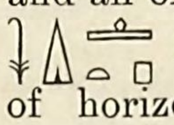
The façade was surmounted by a semi-square cornice without "dentils." In the centre was the main door; the lintels and doorposts are flat and project 1 inch from the face. The lintel is inscribed with four lines of the titles of Ahanekht, and there are 11 lines of vertical inscription on either doorpost. The width of the door was 56·75″, but we are able only to approximate the height at about 85″. The jambs or thickness of the wall measure 38″.

The first chamber measures 218·25″ × 202·0″, being nearly square. It contains two large shafts 129″ × 63″, which we were unable to clear; but in a corner of one of them, on the surface, were found a set of wooden handles for model instruments, including a mace, the handle of a battle-axe, and several *sotep* or adze handles. There were also brilliantly glazed blue pendants of necklaces, with parts of the ends of an *usekh* collar, and some fragments of blue-glazed kohl-pots, which are of considerable interest, as this type of blue glaze had not been previously noted in the Middle Kingdom.

The height of this chamber is uncertain, but was probably about 96″.

The second chamber is entered by a doorway 54·25″ wide and 72·3″ high in the north wall; the thickness of the separating wall is 42″. The jambs are inscribed, but the door is plain, without posts or lintel.

The inner chamber measures 218″ in width, the length being over 236″, but owing to the roof being supported by the *débris*, it was impossible to clear it entirely. On the east wall were two false doors 25″ wide, with the name of Tehutinekht. One corner of the inner chamber was still intact, and from it we find the height of the chamber to have been 84″.

Whether or not there is another chamber behind this it is impossible to say; but while both these chambers, though painted, appear to have had no *kheker* ornament, a block with a *kheker* and part of the name of Ahanekht was found during the clearing. We also found two other blocks which cannot be attributed to this tomb. One of these has been already referred to; it is worked on both sides, having on one side a scene showing a man and an ox, and on the other part of a vertical  inscription and the ends of four lines of horizontal inscription. I incline to the

opinion that the ox scene belonged to the north wall of Ahanekht's tomb, and the inscription to the destroyed tomb lying between that and N.

The other fragment is part of a large incised inscription, seemingly from the lintel of a doorway. It bears the names of Tehutinekht and of .....nekht born of Ankh..... I am unable to locate it with certainty.[1]

The whole of tomb No. 5 had been extensively quarried before the earthquake, the east wall and partition wall between the two chambers having been almost entirely removed. Here the effects of the earthquake, therefore, were more than usually severe. The upper part of the façade slid some 24″ beyond the lower; the roof split up in the first chamber, and although the walls were almost entirely gone, the fragments jammed together and held up. In the second chamber the roof came down bodily in the centre, and when we were clearing it the great central mass of some 100 tons, which was bedded on the rubbish in the middle of the room, began to move, and we were obliged to abandon the tomb hastily. We were unable to clear the second chamber entirely, though we trenched along the walls for some distance. The way in which the roof is hanging together by the jamming of the various pieces is very curious, and it is not at all safe to work under it.

The next tomb appears never to have been finished, and has been almost entirely quarried away. Between it and the next is the exit from the long subterranean quarry H (p. 57).

Tomb No. 6 is a plain uninscribed square chamber, containing one large shaft; the front has been quarried away.

Tomb No. 7 was made for Nehera. It has been much quarried. In plan (pl. xviii.) it was a large square chamber measuring 229·5″ × 236·1, with a height of 91·6″. In the centre of the north wall there was a long, narrow, low chamber, intended for burial purposes, which had been closed with a stone slab. It is similar to the chambers in the VIth Dynasty tombs in the lower groups. There appear to have been two or three great shafts in the floor, but as the façade has been entirely quarried away, we did not consider it worth while to incur the extra expense which the complete clearance would have entailed. The chamber has been painted all over, but very little of the decoration now remains, except on the ceiling, which is entirely covered with inscriptions similar to those on the roof of tomb No. 1. It does not seem to have suffered from the earthquake shock.

Just beyond No. 7 a spur of rock juts out, which had been cut to receive some small stelae that have themselves disappeared.

Following the track we come to a large quarry, in which there are the remains of a stela carved in the thirty-third year of the reign of Thothmes III.[2] Hardly anything of the stela is now visible, as it was lately (1891) defaced by the Arabs. There is also a flattened surface for another stela, but without inscription. The quarry is at the corner of the hill, and in front of it is a levelled space of rock, where numerous small columns have been cut out.

Turning the corner, we find a succession of small quarries containing a few Coptic graffiti, and on a ledge of rock above one of them Mr. Blackden found three graffiti: (1) a man standing, with the name Nekht above him; (2) the name Nekht cut in large early characters; (3) a small false door or shrine. They are all considerably weathered, but I succeeded in taking a squeeze of No. 2.

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[1] This is attributed by Mr. Newberry to a Tomb 6, of which it would be the only relic: see pl. iii., and p. 36.—Ed.

[2] Published by Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, 2nd Series, pls. 33 and 47, from copies by A. C. Harris.—Ed.

The path now narrows and leads along the edge of an eighty-foot precipice to the large quarry of Nekhtnebef above the "Bab," passing various smaller workings which have been inhabited in later times by the Copts.

Here we reach the end of the upper group of tombs, eleven in number, seven of which are inscribed. With the exception of the exterior of No. 2 (Tehutihetep's), they were not architecturally so fine as the tombs of Beni Hasan; but No. 2 was certainly finer, and still is one of the best examples of XIIth Dynasty tombs existing in Egypt.

The general work in the tombs was good, but neither in colour nor workmanship better than those at Beni Hasan. The stone was more difficult to work on account of the cherty nodules. The errors of workmanship are, as at Beni Hasan, considerable, and general effect, not accuracy, seems to have been chiefly sought after both in the excavation and ornamentation of the tombs.

And now, retracing our steps till we reach No. 5, we go a few feet down the slope of the limestone chips and find ourselves before a group of three complete tombs (pl. xx.).

Tomb No. 8.—That numbered 8 in the plan has a small rectangular chamber, measuring 106″×114″, but its height is only 57″. The centre is occupied by a shaft, which was not cleared. The lintel and doorposts are inscribed with the titles of the owner, Ahanekht.

Tomb No. 9.—No. 9 is a small uninscribed chamber 49″×104″×48″ high. It was evidently only used for burial, as one of the closing slabs of the doorway is still in place. Above the door is a rock-cut tablet, representing the owner seated, and a few lines of very illegible inscription, the name being, I think, Ahanekht.

Tomb No. 10.—No. 10, which is the farthest to the west, contains two names, Ahanekht and Tehutinekht, his son, for whom it appears to have been made. The doorway is 35·5″ wide and 49·5″ high, the lintel and doorposts being inscribed. Inside, there is a small rectangular chamber 170·8″×54·5″, in which it is impossible to stand upright, the height being only 49·5″. Almost the entire floor space is occupied by a shaft measuring 145·3″×34″. This shaft is about 96″ deep, and leads into a small sepulchral chamber, lying from north-east to south-west. Fragments of alabaster vases were found in clearing it. On the northern wall of the chamber is a small false door.

The question of the age of these tombs in relation to those above is a difficult one, as they are small and rough, yet the titles borne by their owners seem to be the same as in the large tombs.

These three tombs have not been affected by the earthquake.

With this small group we come to the end of the tombs on the northern side of the valley.

South Side.

Here it will be simpler to start at the top of the hill and work downwards. On the summit of the hill is a mass of quarries; the largest, and apparently the oldest, is marked P on the plan. It was subterranean, and a large part of it has fallen in owing to the earthquake; in the remaining part there are hardly any graffiti beyond a Coptic cross and the letters Α and ω. Shafts for the admission of light and air have been cut through the roof, which is of no great thickness. Outside this quarry many large unfinished bases of columns are scattered about, and large columns or bases appear to have been cut from the quarry next to it to the south.

In the corner, by the entrance of the great quarry and close to the entrance of another smaller one, is a stela dated in the first year of Amenhetep III., in the third month of the

inundation, the day of the month being erased.[1] The upper part of the stela is destroyed. The king stands making offering before two gods(?), whose legs and feet only remain. Below are four horizontal lines of inscription, which, besides the ordinary titles, appears to refer to the construction of some building in Khmenu (Eshmûnên). On each side of the stela there is a vertical line with the titles and cartouches of the king. This stela has been unfortunately defaced within the last two years, probably by the same persons that defaced the tombs at Beni Hasan, Sheikh Sa'îd, &c.

In the small quarry is a Coptic graffito. Just beyond this, going north, we come to the corner of the hill, passing round which we see the beginning of the great line of quarries which stretched from here to the end of the ravine. These quarries are chiefly remarkable for their great extent; the graffiti in them are nearly all quarry marks, instructions to the workmen in demotic, dates, and here and there a Coptic cross.

Leaving the stela, we follow the path down to where it passes the tombs *a*—*d* at R. Here we turn to the north and follow the contour level of *a*, *c*, round the corner of the hill till we reach two rows, of ten and six tombs respectively, marked Q (*a*—*j* and *k*—*p*).

This group consists of small tombs cut at a height of some eighty feet in the steep face of the hill, facing north. They are in a poor stratum of rock, and are now all much weathered outside. The doors are generally placed in the middle of a vertical façade. They are plain rectangular openings *without* rounded lintels; a raised seat is often left on either side of the doorway outside. Only one of the tombs (*b*) is inscribed. In plan it is very irregular and unfinished, but seems to have been divided into two chambers by an architrave running across the width of the tomb, supported by two square columns. The architrave is inscribed with the titles of the owner, Ankhy, and a list of feasts.

In the southern or back wall of the tomb are two box-like excavations (similar to one in the tomb of Nehera, No. 7), which have been closed with slabs, and were intended evidently for burials; and in the floor of the front section of the chamber there are two sloping shafts, leading into sepulchral vaults which run north and south. By the name, titles, and style of cutting, this tomb can be almost certainly attributed to the VIth Dynasty, and it seems probable that all the tombs at Q are of the same age.

Leaving this group we return to the path near R *a b*. At S there are twenty-five tombs, *a*—*y*; but *f*, *h*, *j*, *l*, *o*, *y*, are on a slightly lower contour, and *m* is slightly higher than the rest. All of these except two are on the same plan, being small rectangular chambers, in which it is impossible to stand upright, and having as a rule a shaft in the floor or box-like recesses in the walls; but sometimes, as in *n*, the shafts are outside in front of the doorway. The façade is vertical, and the door small with plain flat lintels and jambs. The first exception is *s*, on the façade of which there is a single long line of inscription, now so weathered as to be totally illegible. Squeezes of it were carefully taken by myself and Mr. Blackden, but nothing could be made of it. Another tomb, *x*, is exceptional as being on a larger scale than the others, though unfinished. It consists of a plain façade with a central doorway, leading into a rectangular chamber, on the northern wall of which are traces of an inscription. In the centre of the eastern wall there is a doorway leading into a small uninscribed shrine; the doorposts and jambs of this inner doorway bear traces of inscription, and in the wall of the main chamber on either side of the door

[1] Published by Prof. Sayce, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, ix., p. 195.—Ed.

are niches with the remains of seated figures cut in them. There is a fairly deep shaft in the centre of the floor of the main chamber. The owner's name is destroyed, but his mother's name is given as Teta.

The northern wall has been half quarried away, and through it we enter *w*, on the west wall of which is a plain uninscribed false door. This tomb is merely a small square chamber, with an empty shaft in front of the false door. Just below *w* and *x* is *y*, a small rectangular chamber, uninscribed; below this again is the group α—ζ. Of these α is a large underground quarry, which has cut through several of the mummy-pits of the tombs above, and has destroyed the tombs which stood immediately before it. On the front part of the roof of this quarry there are, at one place, traces of painting from the upper part of the wall of one of these destroyed tombs.

ϛ is a small, very rough, and seemingly unfinished tomb, which contains two seated figures cut in niches, and the remains of an inscription giving the name Tehuti-nekht born of Teta.

The rest of the tombs in this group do not call for remark. The five tombs in group S are all small chambers, uninscribed, and without any remarkable points. Forty yards from them, and at a slightly lower level, we find the commencement of the last range of eighteen tombs, T (*a*—*r*). None of these are inscribed, but there are a few points in them worth noticing.

The tombs *b*, *c* have their façades cut sloping at an angle of 55° 30′ to the horizontal. This is also the case in the tombs at Mataharah, north of Beni Hasan, and is a curious survival of the sloping side of the mastaba or early tomb. Tomb *d* is unfinished, but the plan, consisting of two fair-sized rectangular chambers and a shrine, is more ambitious than that of any of the other tombs on this side of the valley. Tombs *o*, *p* are rather similar in plan: *p*, with its window-like openings in front, is a distinctive feature in the hill at a distance. Both of these tombs are almost inaccessible, owing to the quarrying or weathering of the stratum of rock just below them. Above *q* is a small chamber which can now be reached only by climbing down to it from above.

Tomb *r* is the last of this group; and an isolated tomb, only just begun, and situate low down on the hill some way to the south, brings us to the end of the tombs on the southern side of the valley.

Thus we see there are in all seventy-two tombs and a large number of shafts on the south side of the valley. Only four of the tombs have any inscriptions, and of these only one, the tomb of Ankhy, is at all perfect, and dateable with practical certainty. S, *s* is probably also of the VIth Dynasty, and it seems likely that several of the other small tombs were similarly inscribed on the façade; but the bad conditions of an inferior stratum of rock, and an exposed position, have in these cases effectually destroyed all traces of inscription. Of the other two tombs, S, *x* and *b*, we can only say they were probably made between the end of the VIth and the beginning of the XIth Dynasties, and are very likely of the same age as or slightly anterior to the group 8—10 on the northern side of the Wady.

We have now gone over the entire valley, and it only remains to state the distribution of objects found during the excavations.

The finest piece of the fallen east wall of Tehuti-hetep is now preserved under glass in the XIIth Dynasty hall of the museum at Ghizeh. The other fragments which were removed have been presented to the British Museum by the Egypt Exploration Fund. As the Committee of the Society was unwilling to incur the extra expense of clearing tomb wells, such as were cleared were done at my own

cost. The fragments of the inlays from the coffin of Tehuti-hetep, fragments of wooden kohl jars, and the alabaster cup, I handed over to Prof. Flinders Petrie for the museum of University College, London. The inscribed steatite bead is in the collection of the Rev. W. MacGregor. The alabaster pillow is in the fine collection of Mr. F. Hilton Price. The model tool handles, the figures from the model barks, the blue-glazed pendants, and the fragments of kohl jars, were sent to the office of the Society with the fragments of painted stone. The pottery and the remainder of the fragments of paintings, I reburied at the tombs.

Tehneh, Upper Egypt, 1894.

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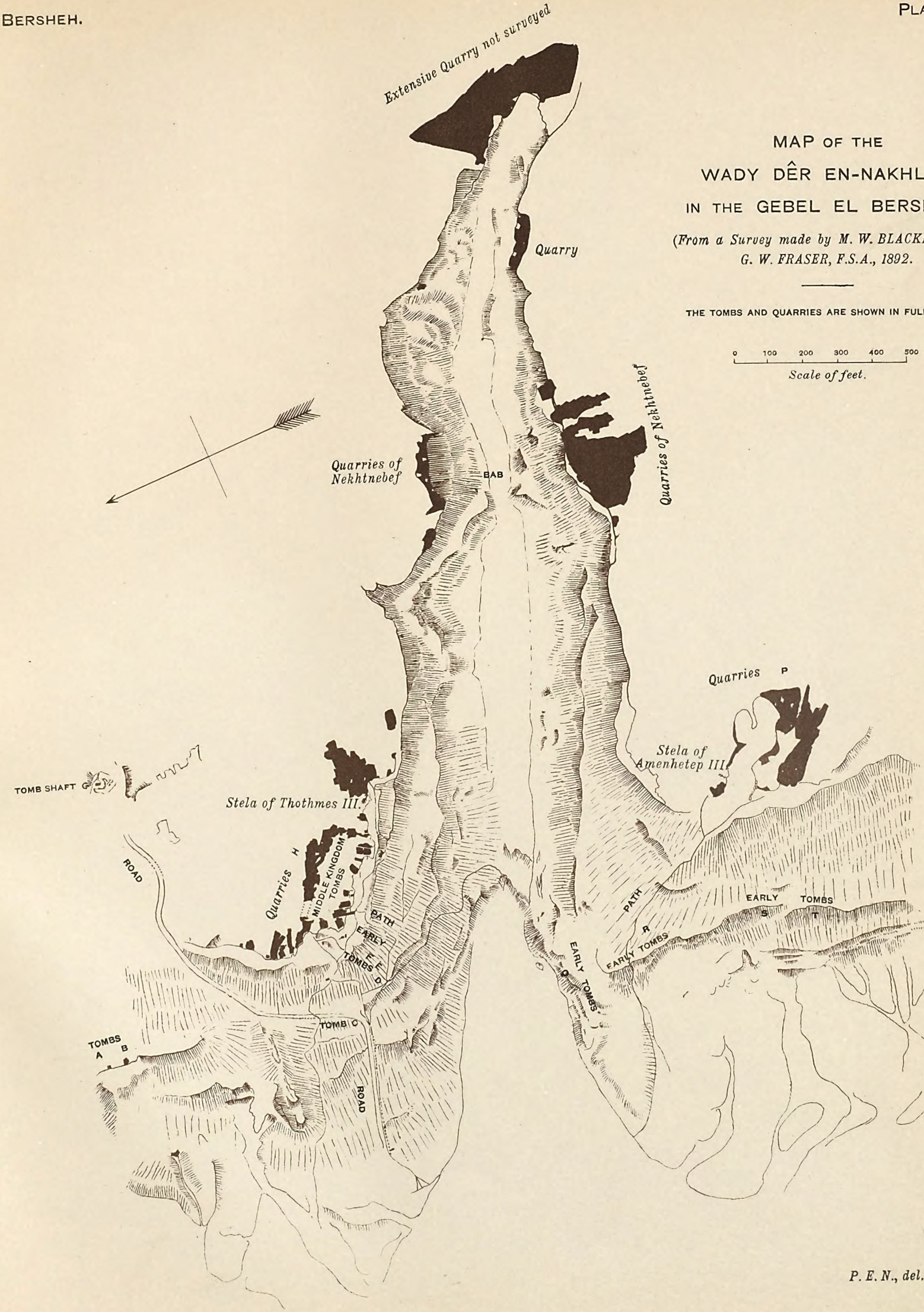
MAP OF THE WADY DÊR EN-NAKHLEH IN THE GEBEL EL BERSHEH.

(From a Survey made by M. W. BLACKDEN and G. W. FRASER, F.S.A., 1892.

THE TOMBS AND QUARRIES ARE SHOWN IN FULL BLACK.

0 100 200 300 400 500

Scale of feet.



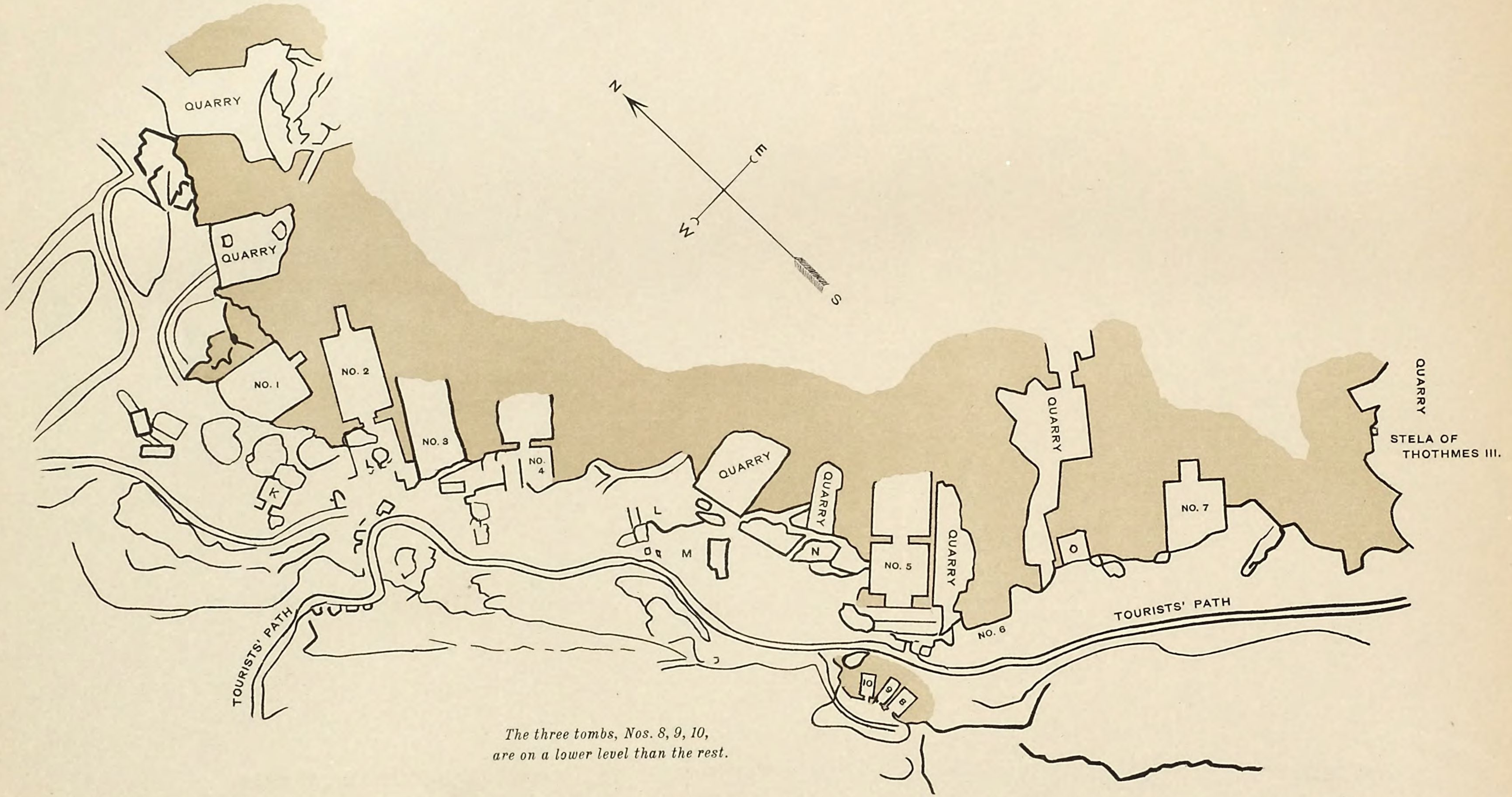
P. E. N., del.

EL BERSHEH.

SKETCH SURVEY OF THE TOMBS OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM.

(From plans and general survey made by M. W. BLACKDEN and G. W. FRASER, F.S.A.)

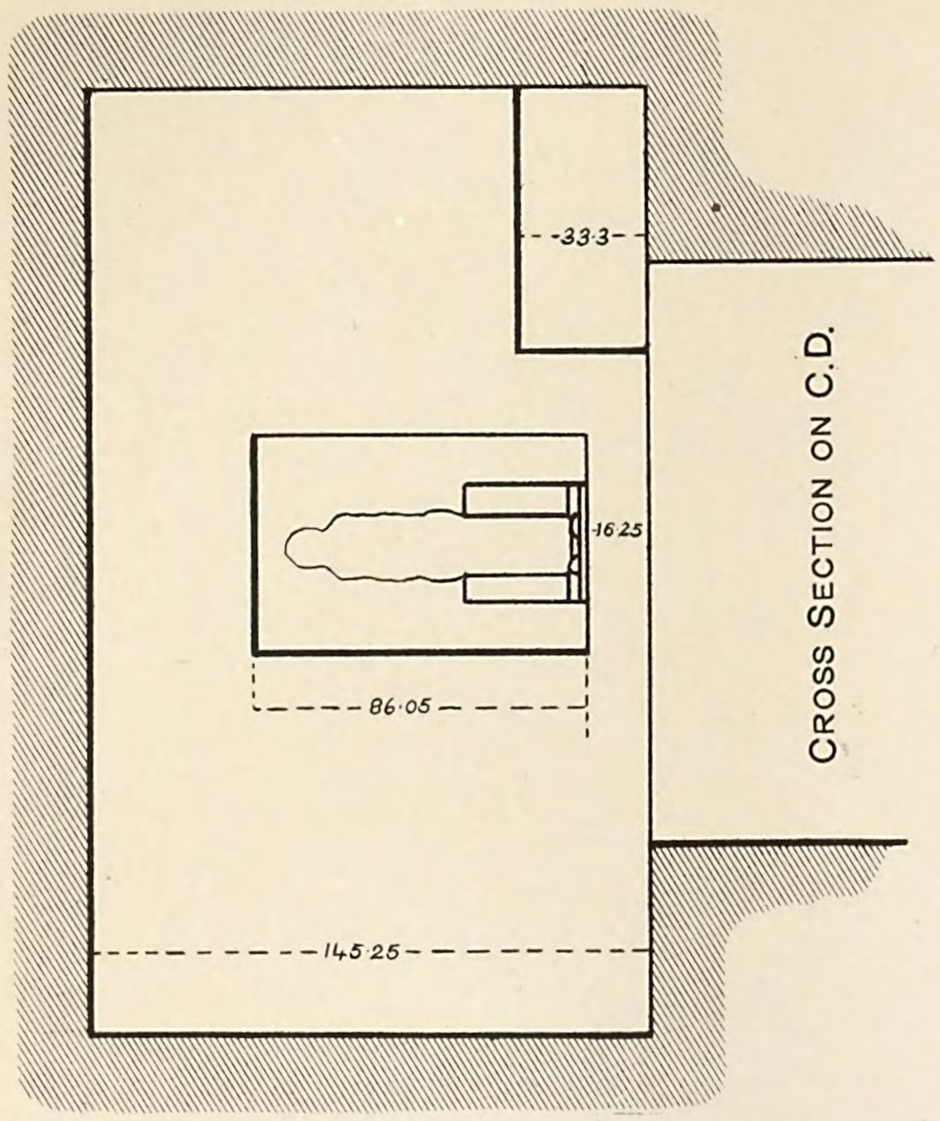
PLATE III.



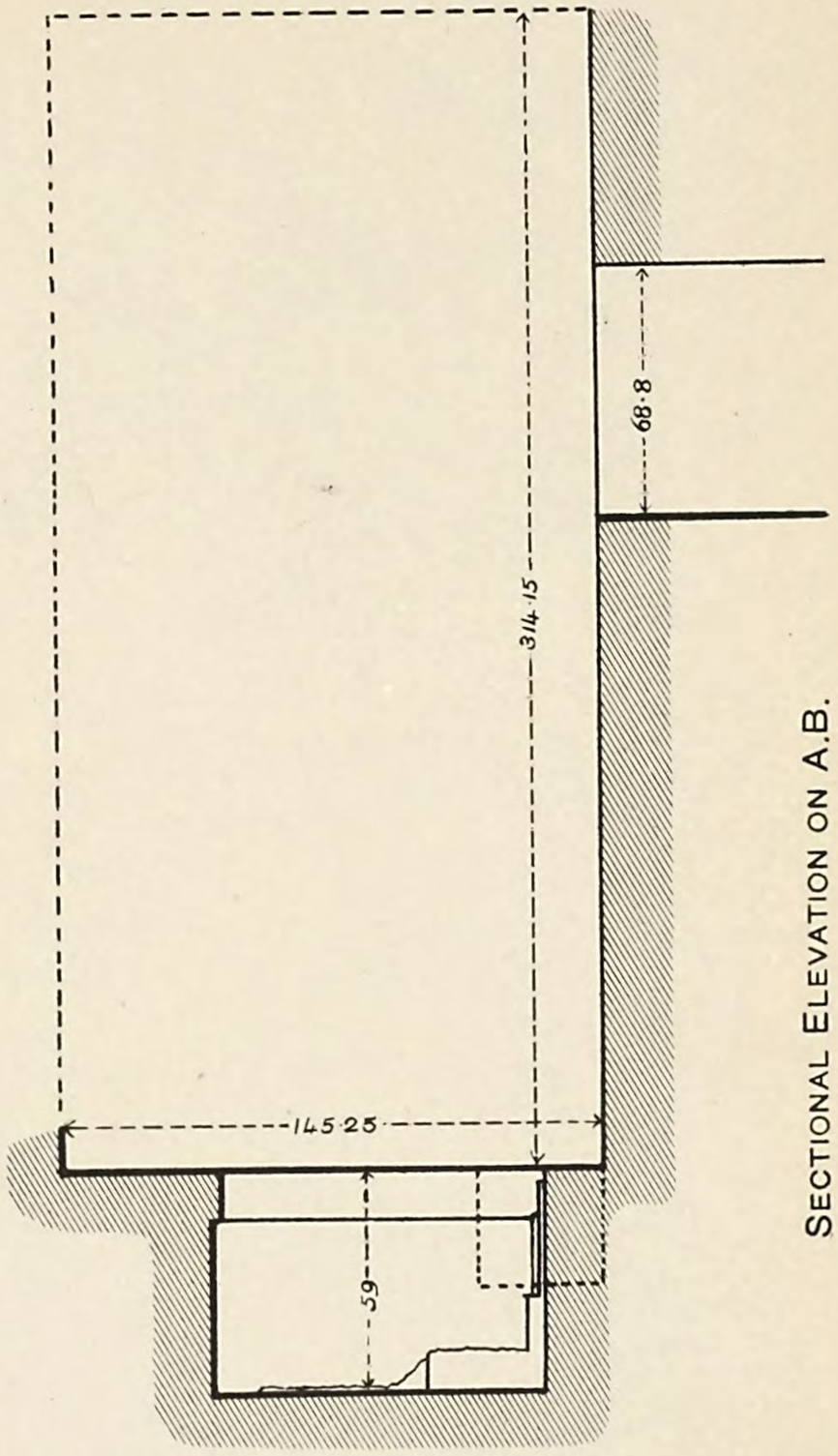
The three tombs, Nos. 8, 9, 10, are on a lower level than the rest.

Scale 1:500.

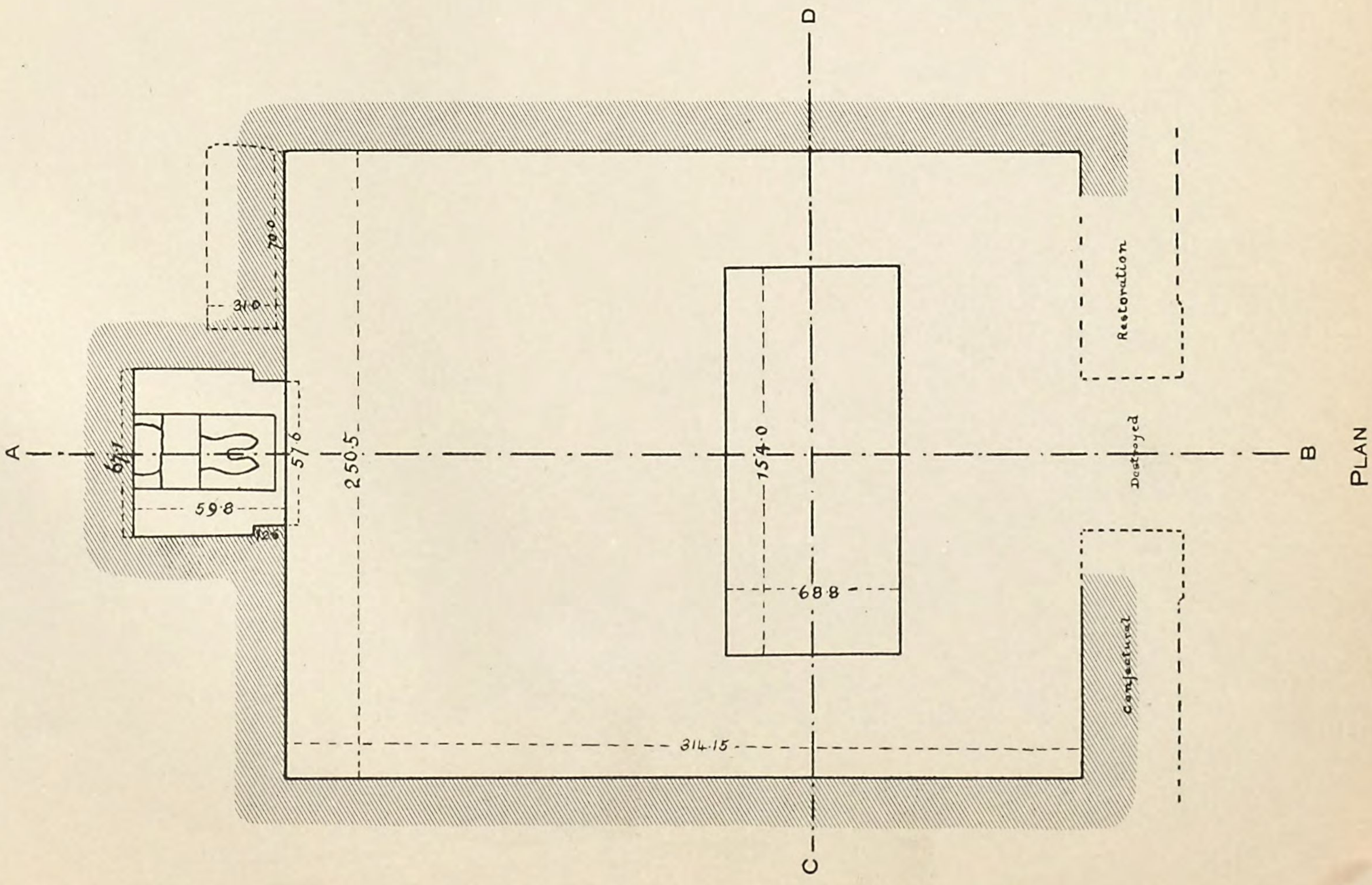
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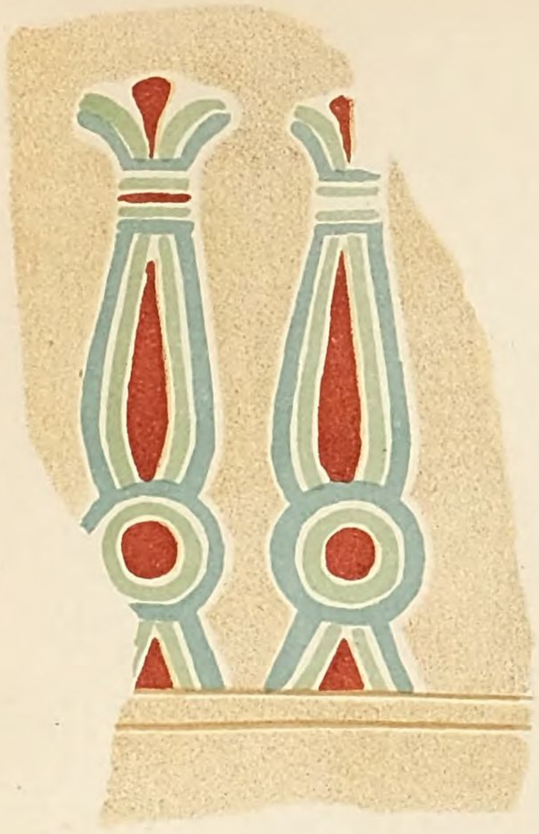
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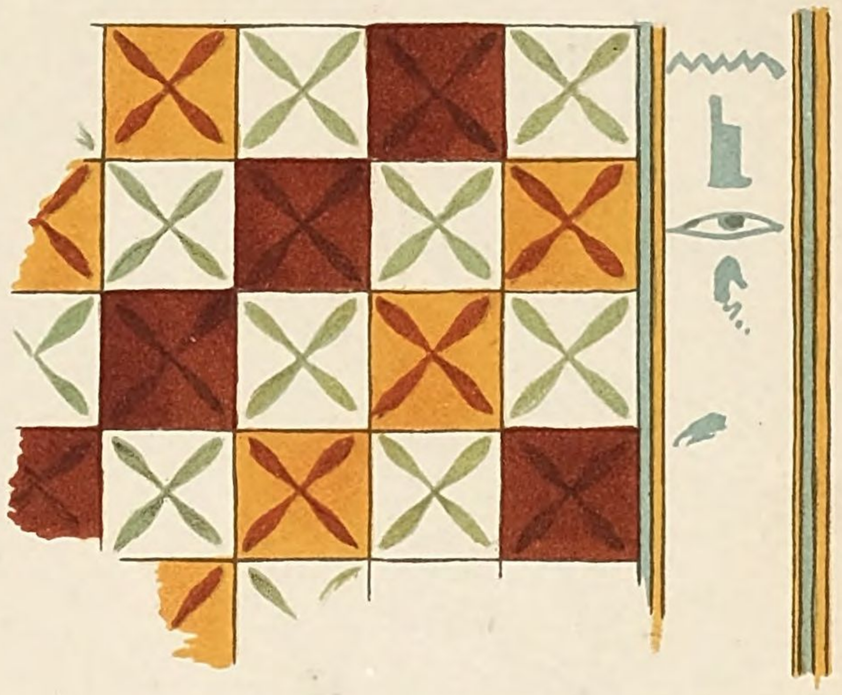
SECTIONAL ELEVATION ON A.B.



PLAN



CORNICE PATTERN.



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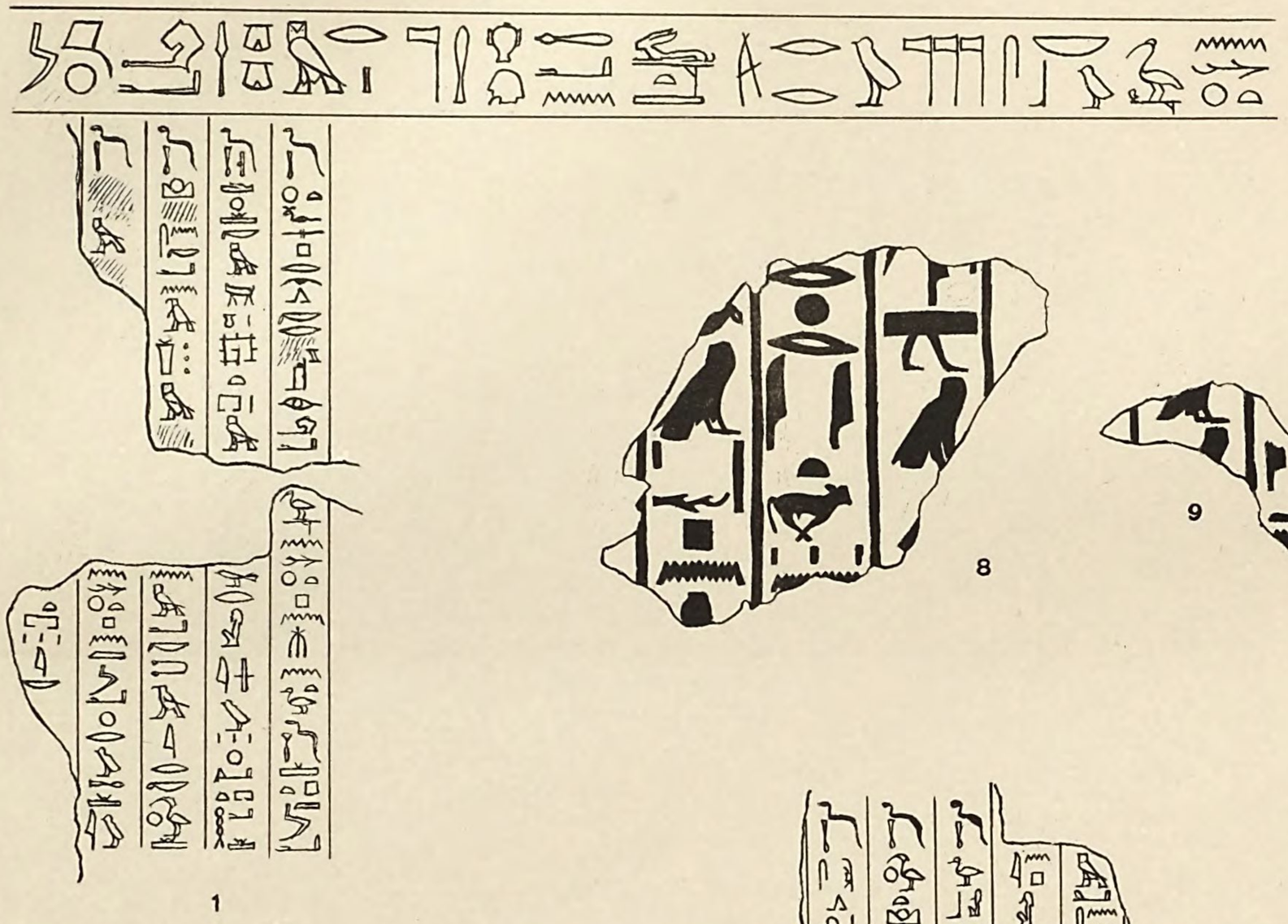
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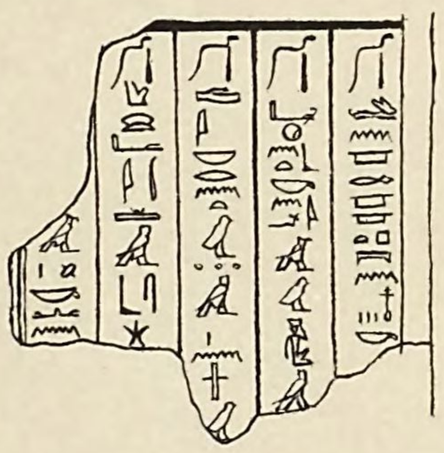
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R.F.E.P. and M.W.B. del.

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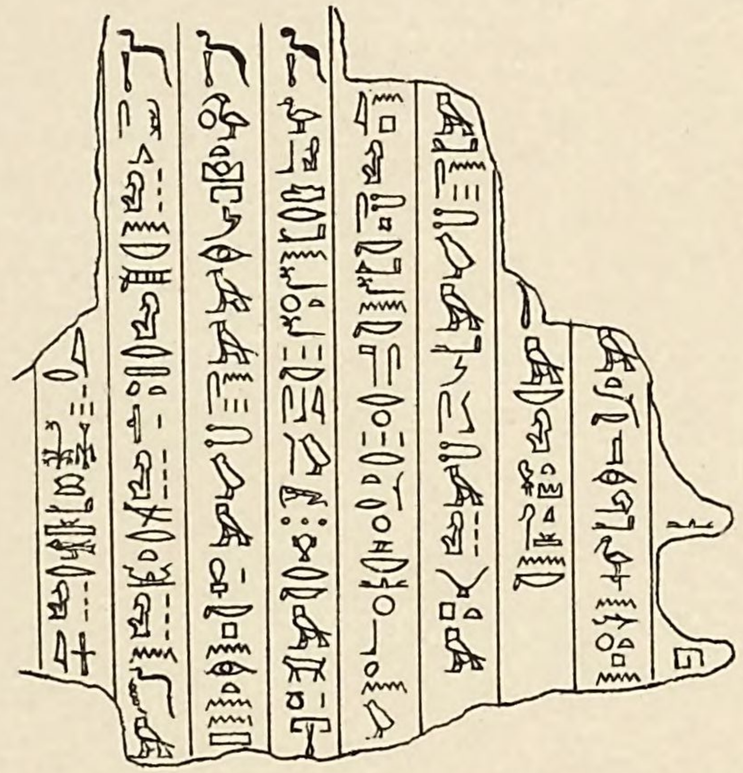
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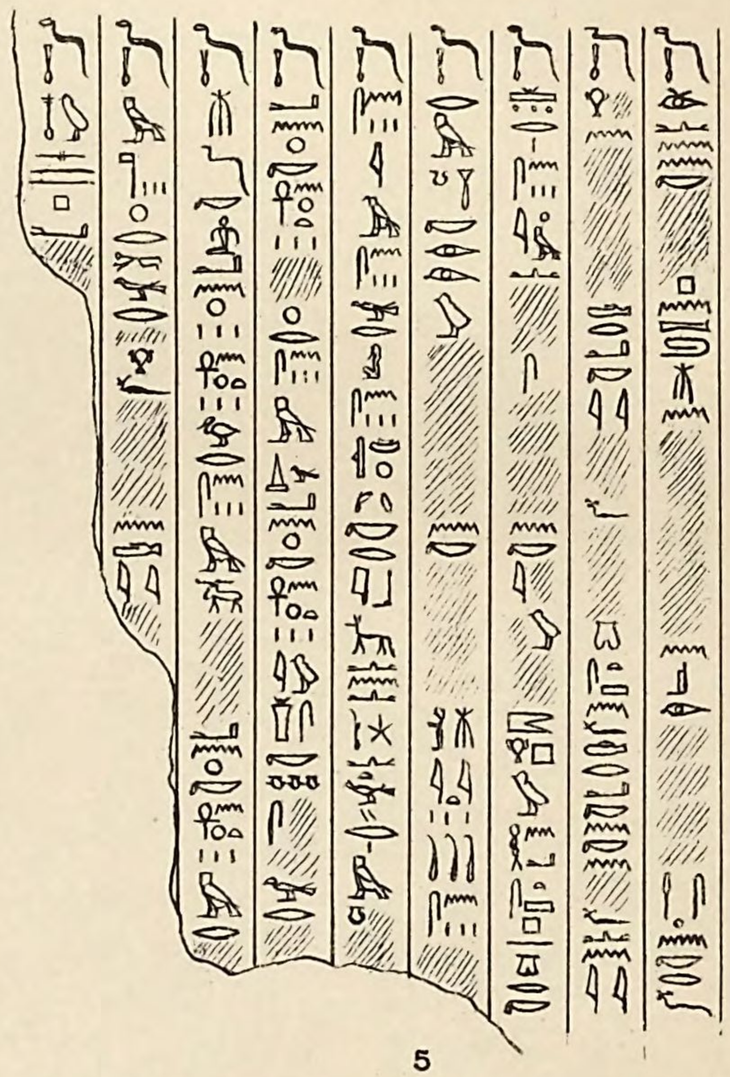
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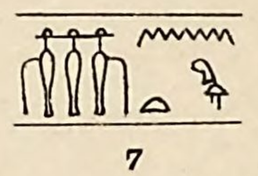
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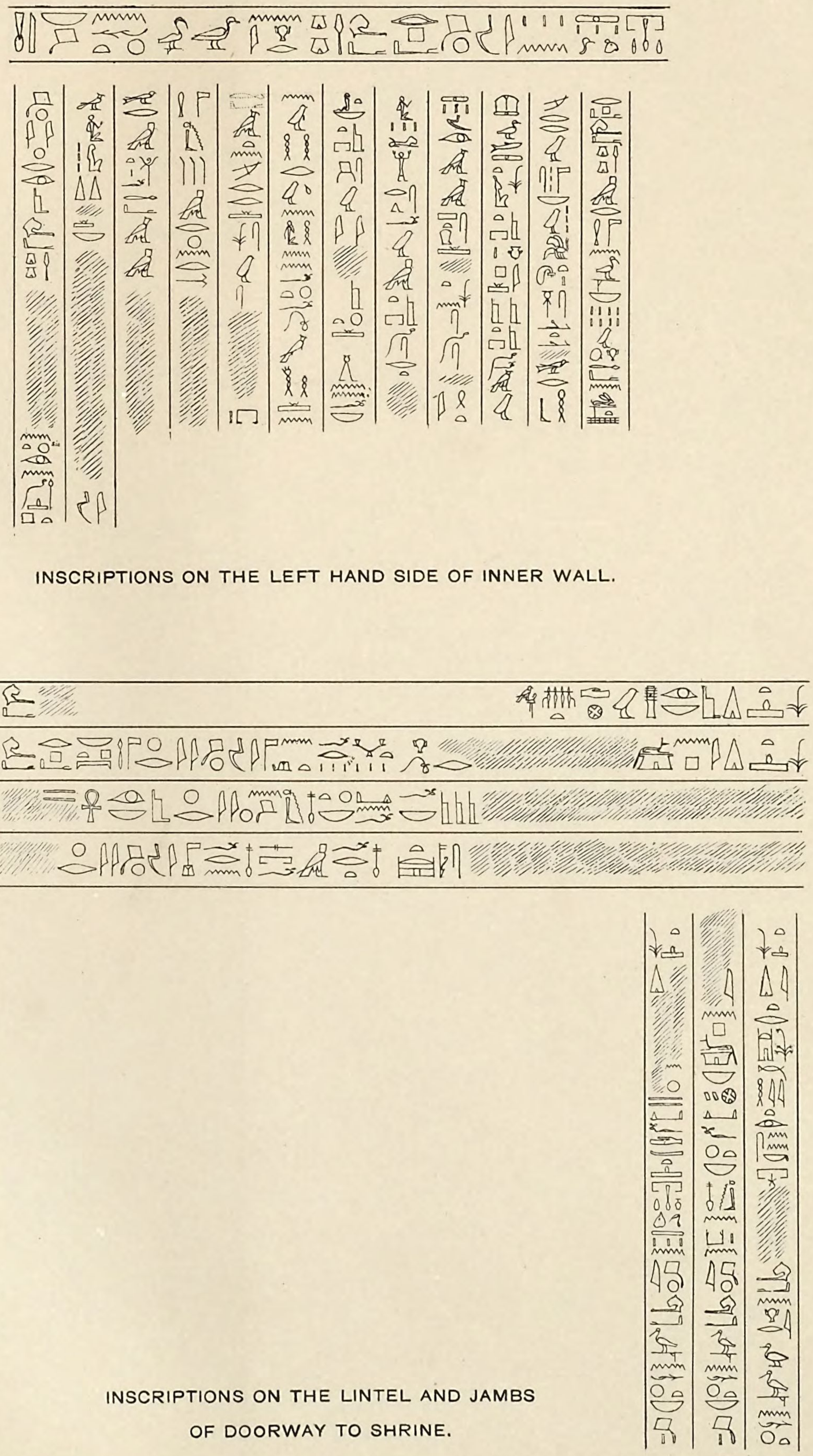
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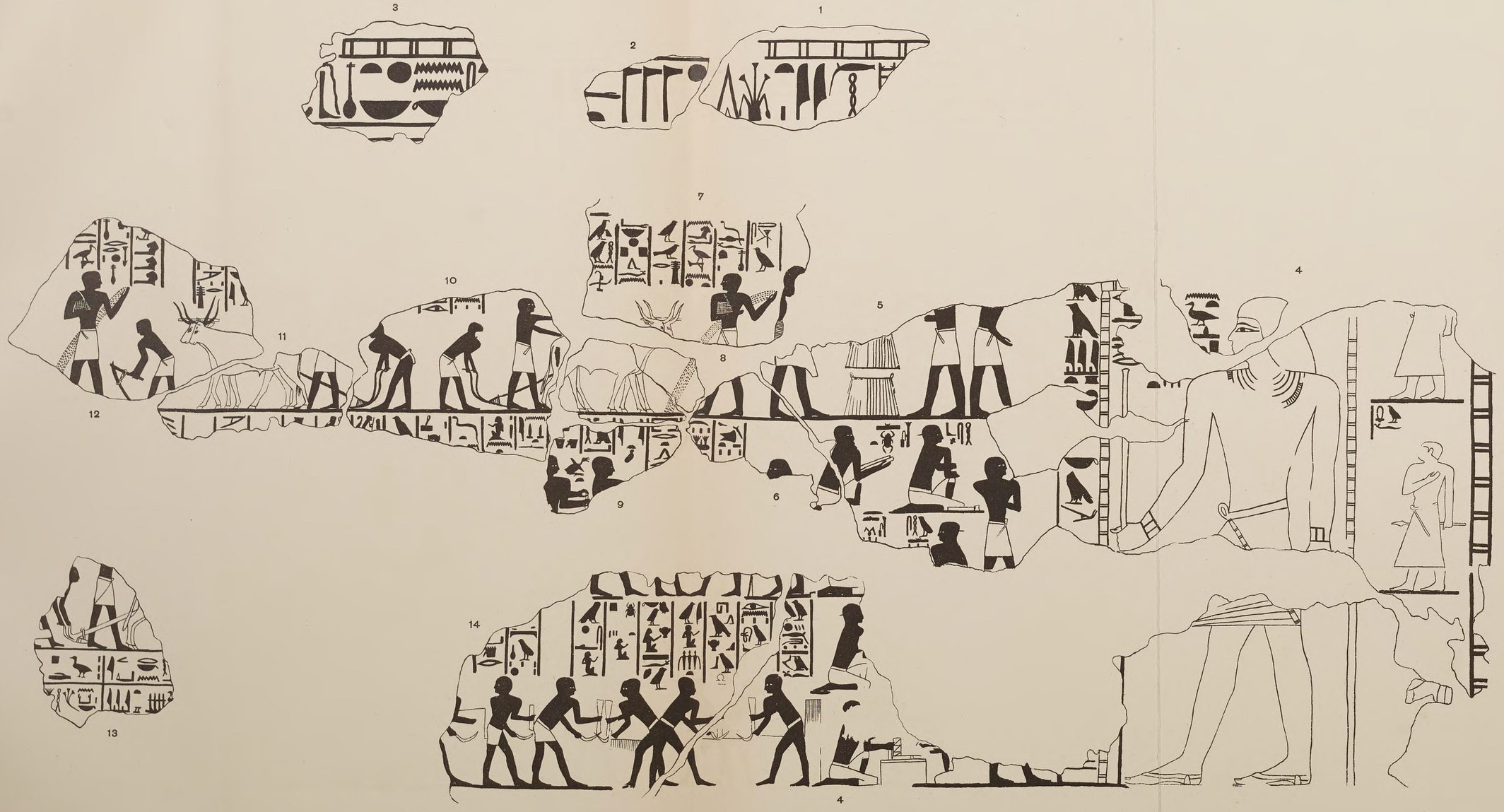
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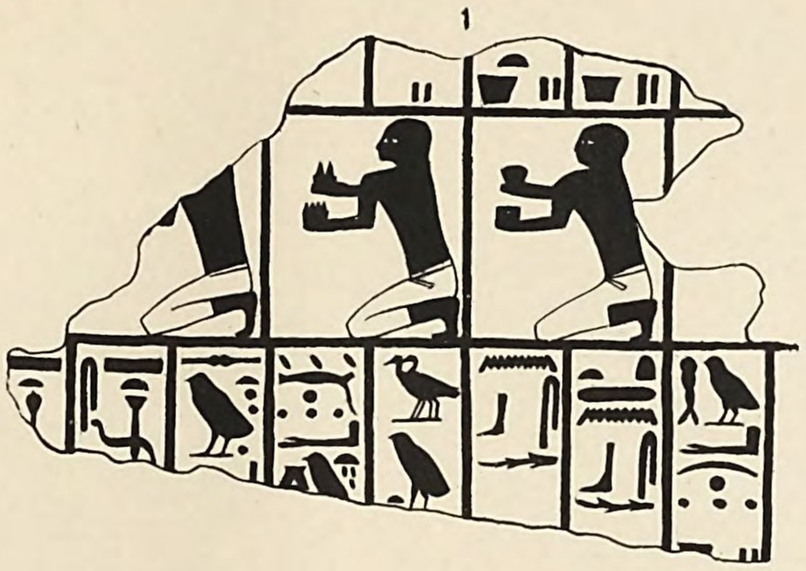
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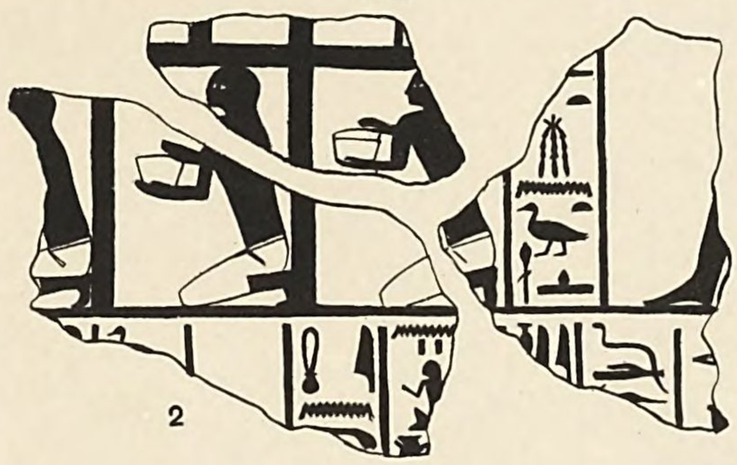
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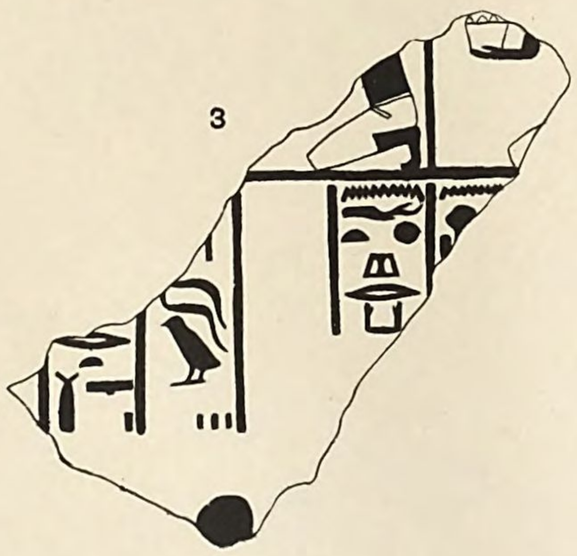
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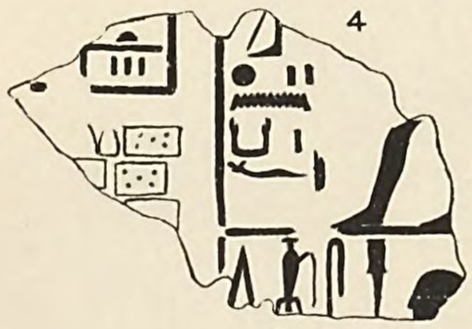


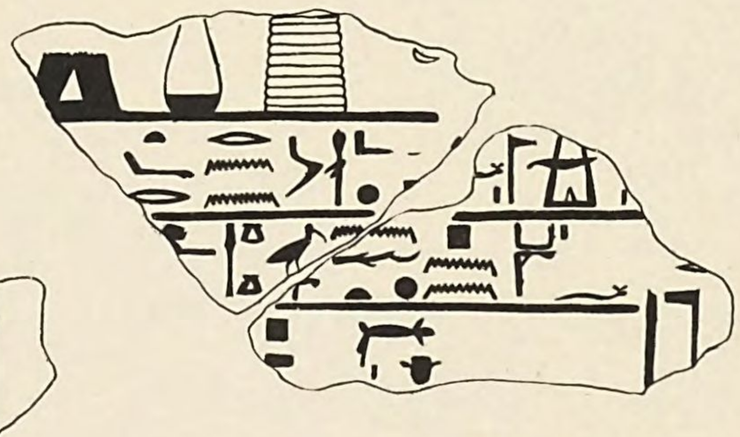
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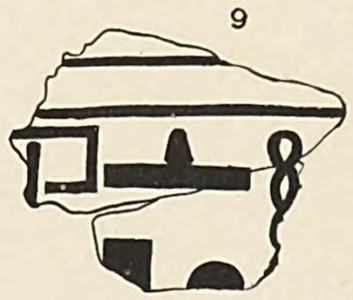

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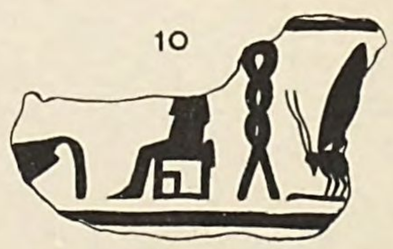

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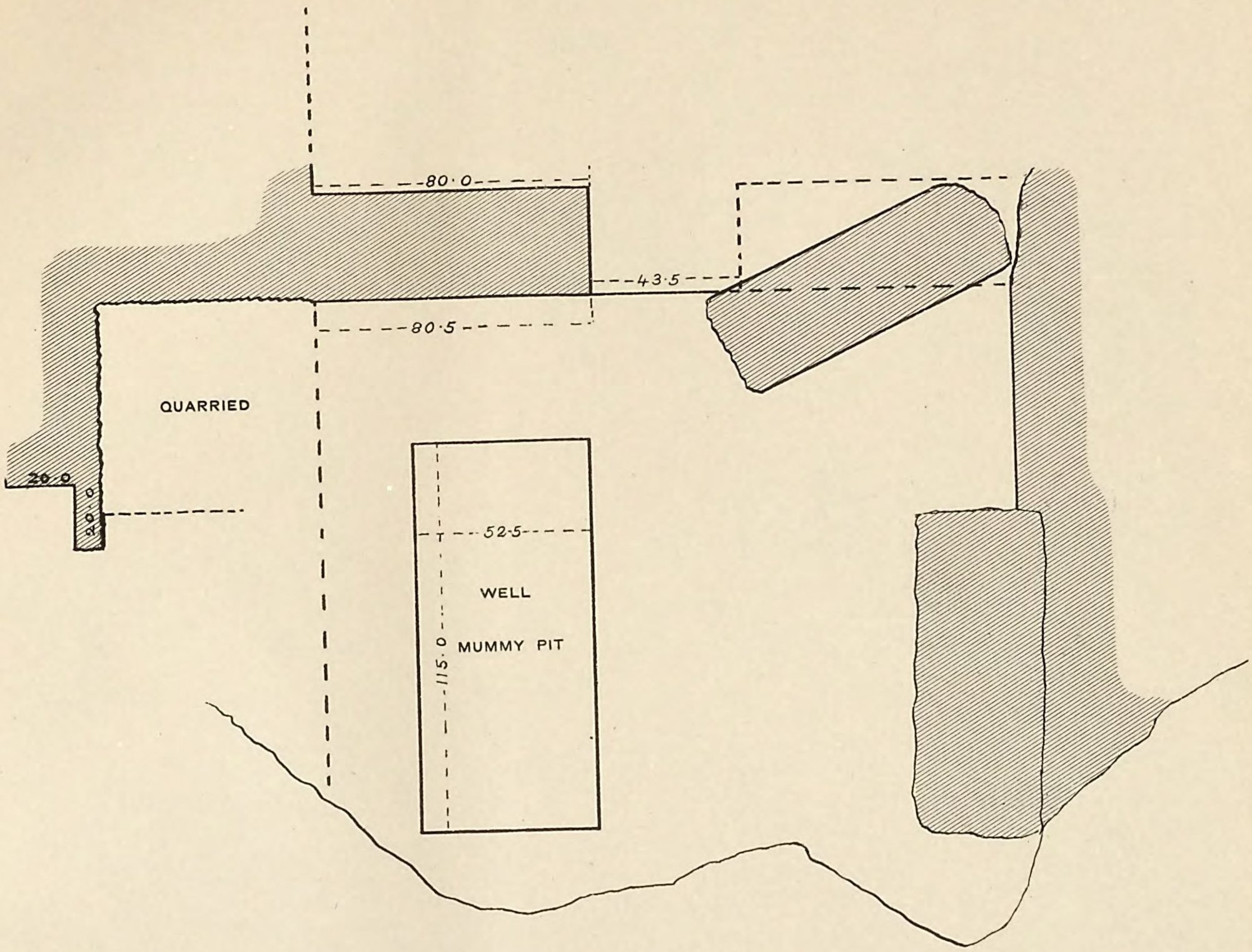
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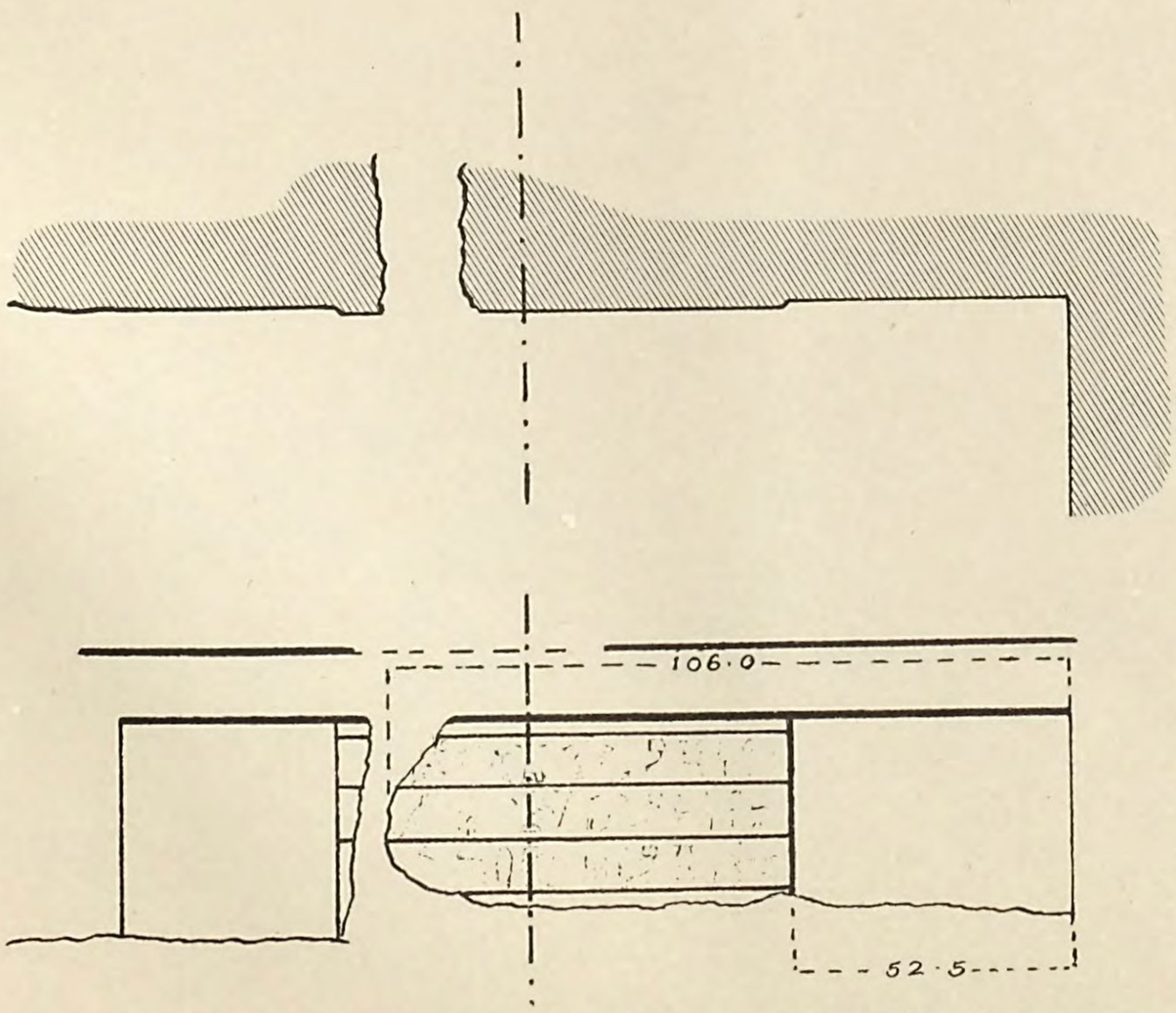

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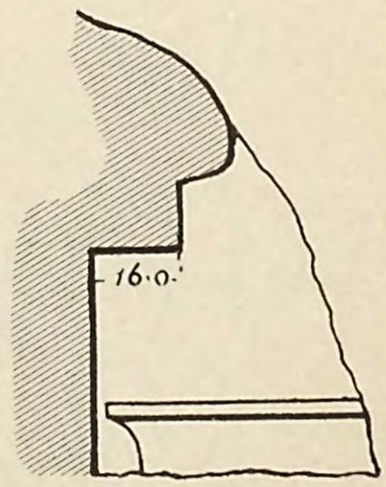
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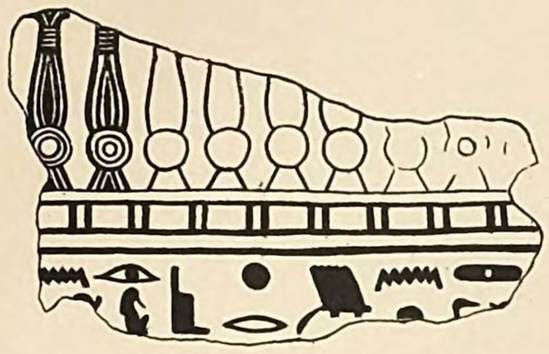
PLAN OF TOMB NO. 4.



PLAN AND ELEVATION OF REMAINS OF TOMB NO. 3.
(LINTEL AND JAMBS).



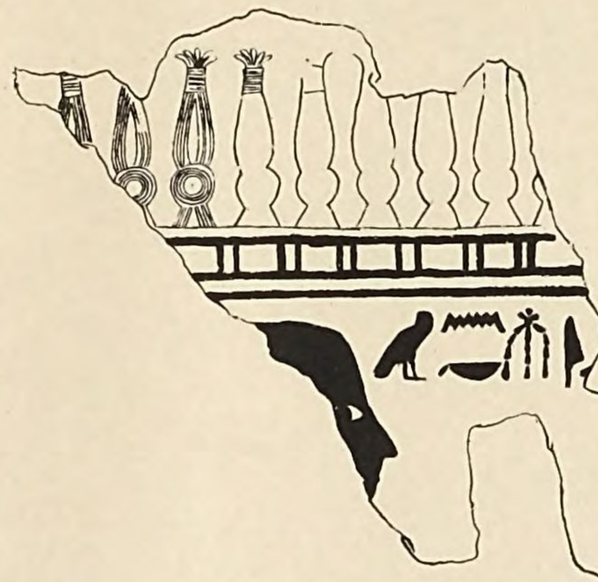
SECTIONAL ELEVATION OF PART OF A BLOCK FOUND IN TOMB NO. 3.



1



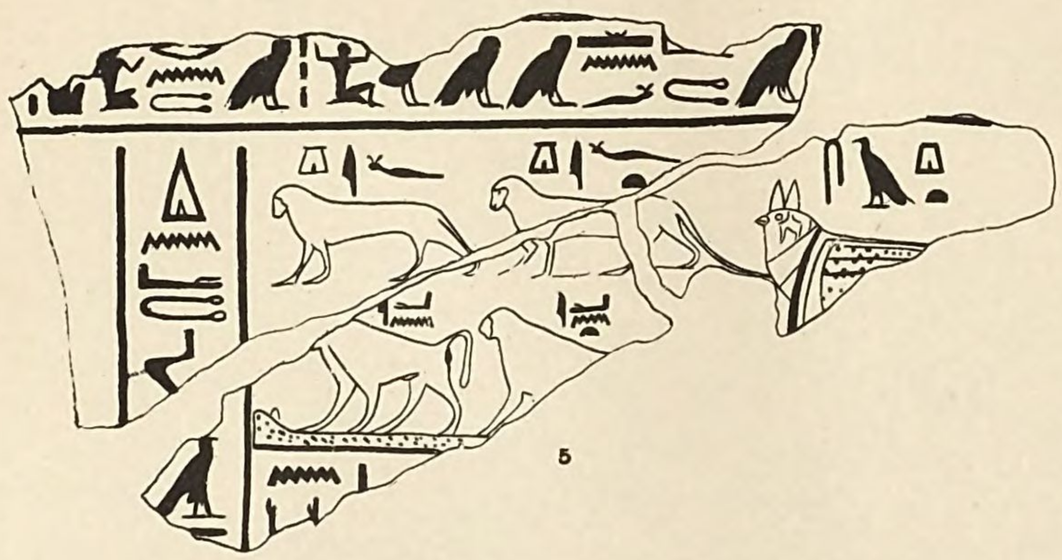
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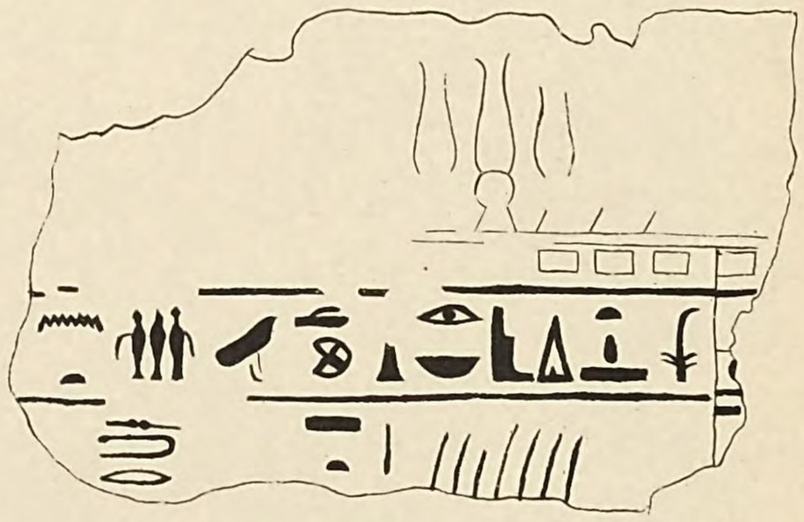
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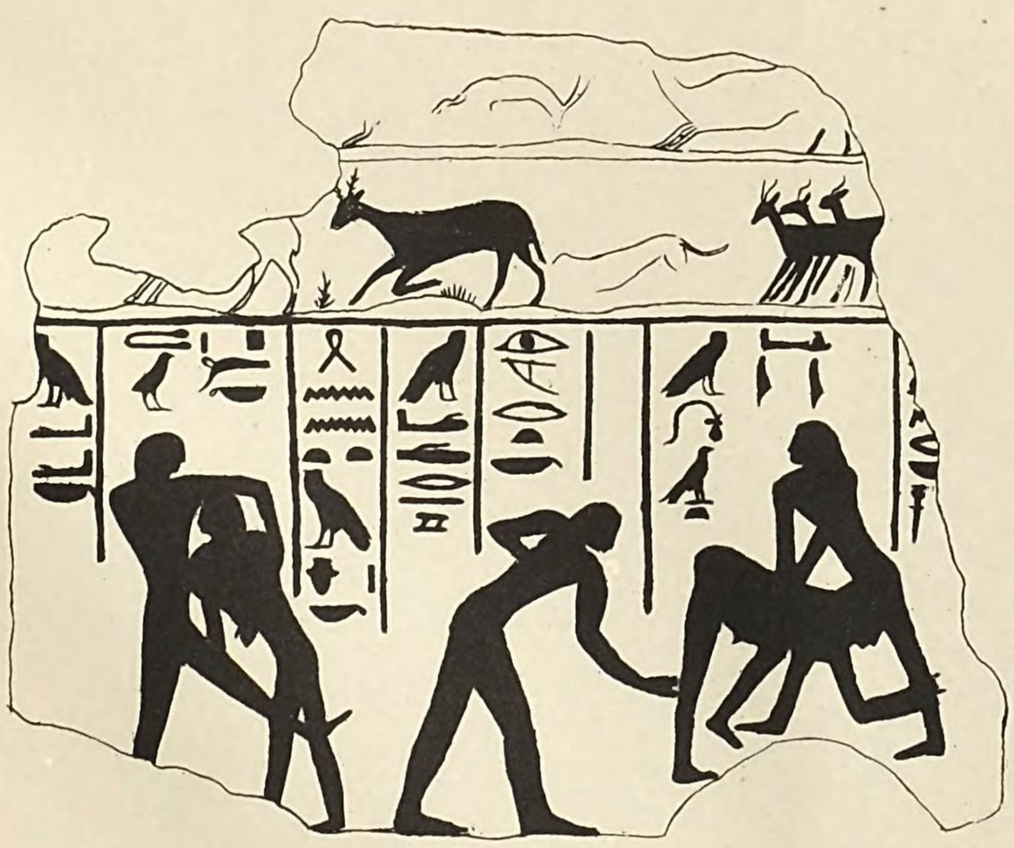
4



5



6



7

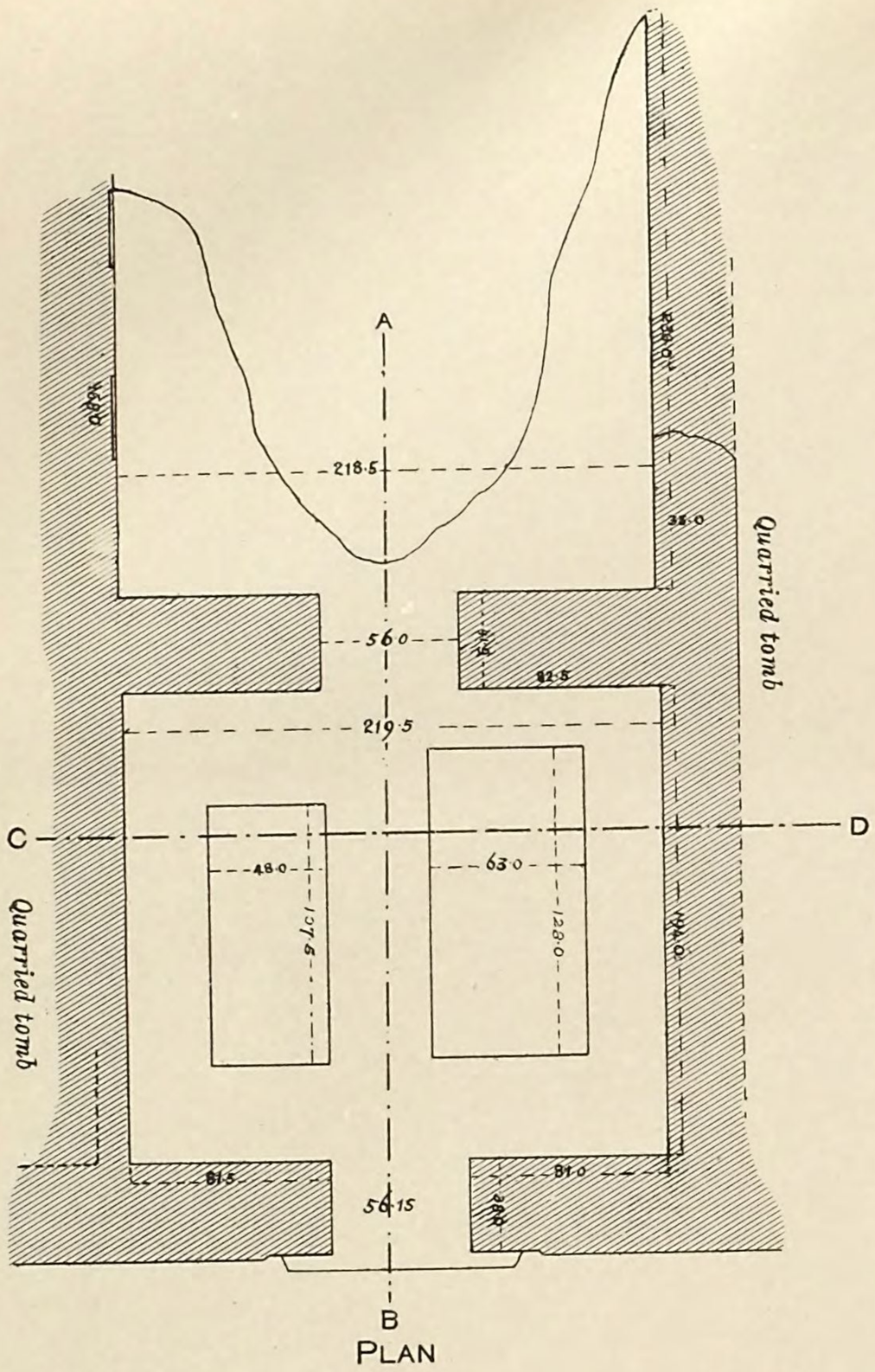


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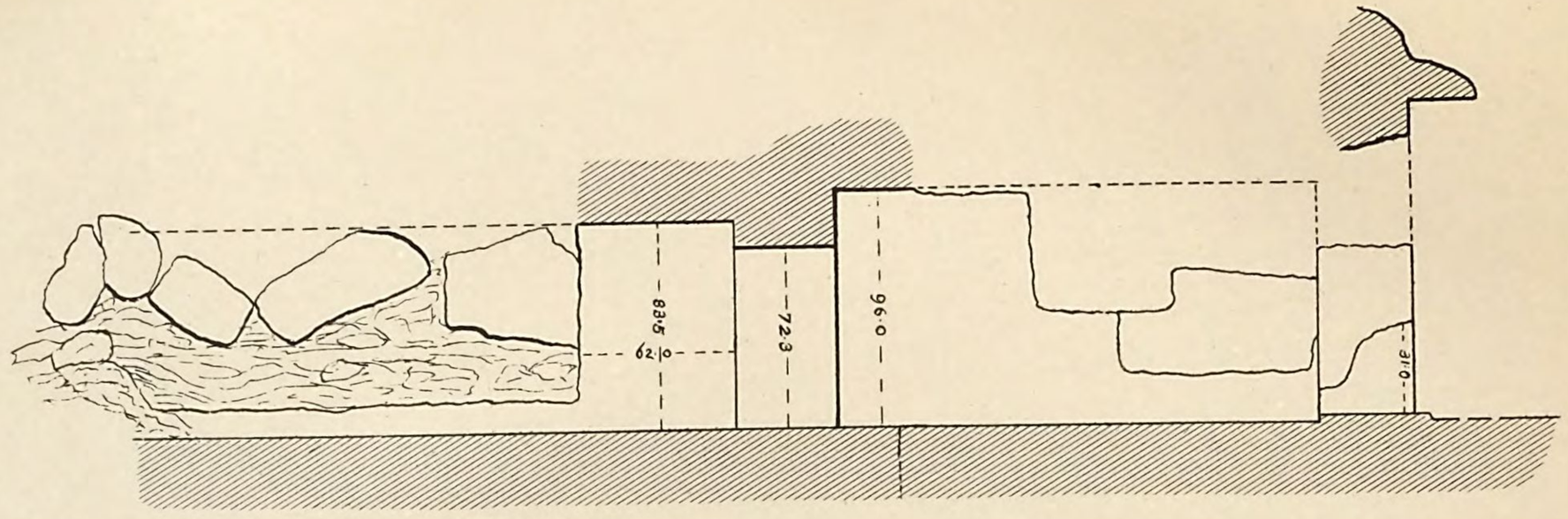
FRAGMENTS OF WALL PAINTINGS.

Scale 1 : 10.

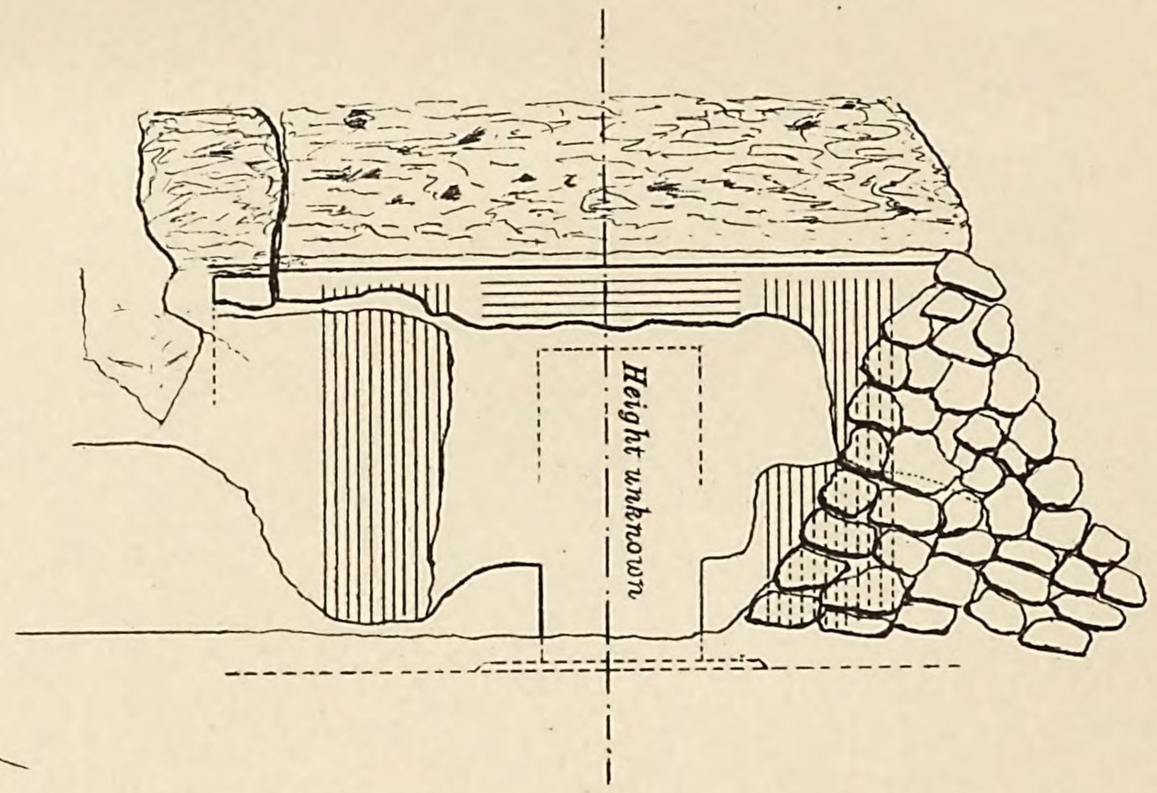
TOMB No. 5.



PLAN

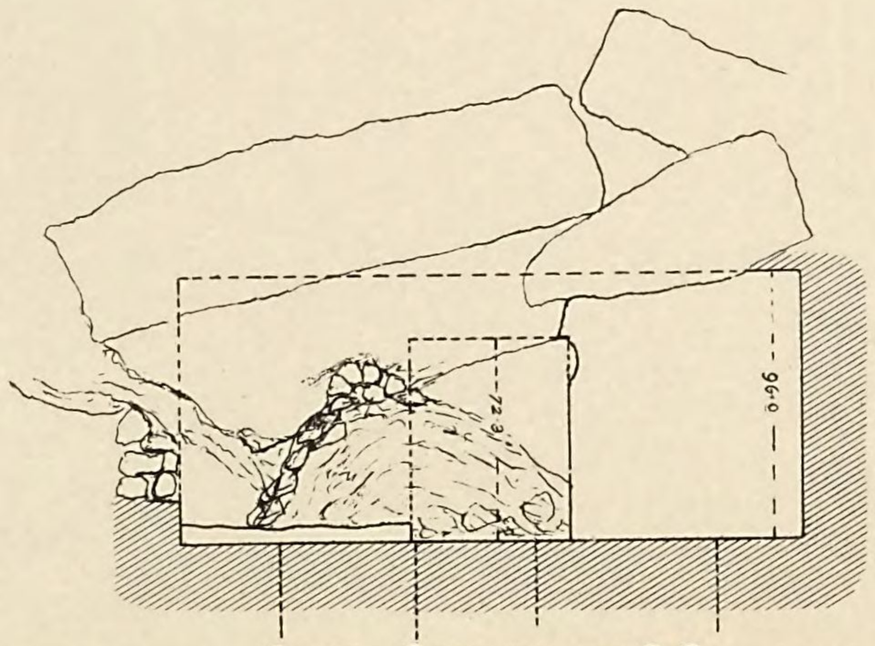


SECTION ON A.B.



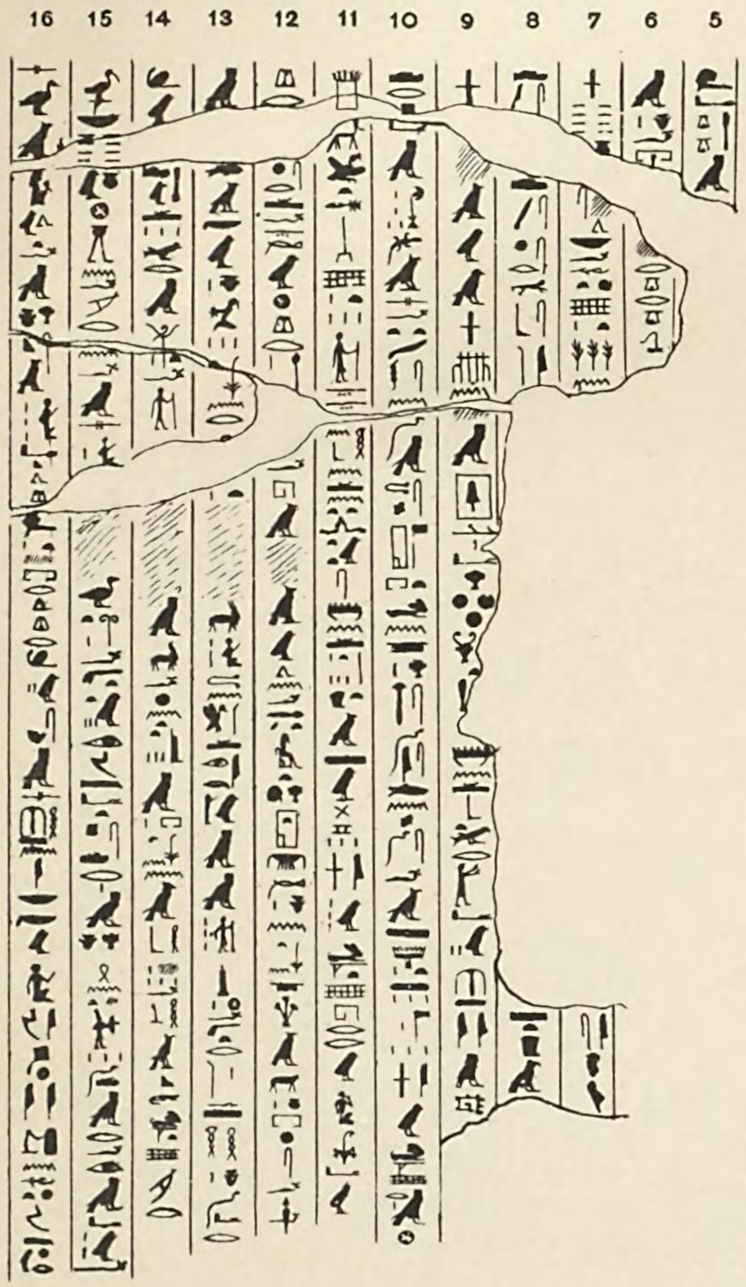
FRONT ELEVATION.

(Shifted blocks restored to their relative positions).

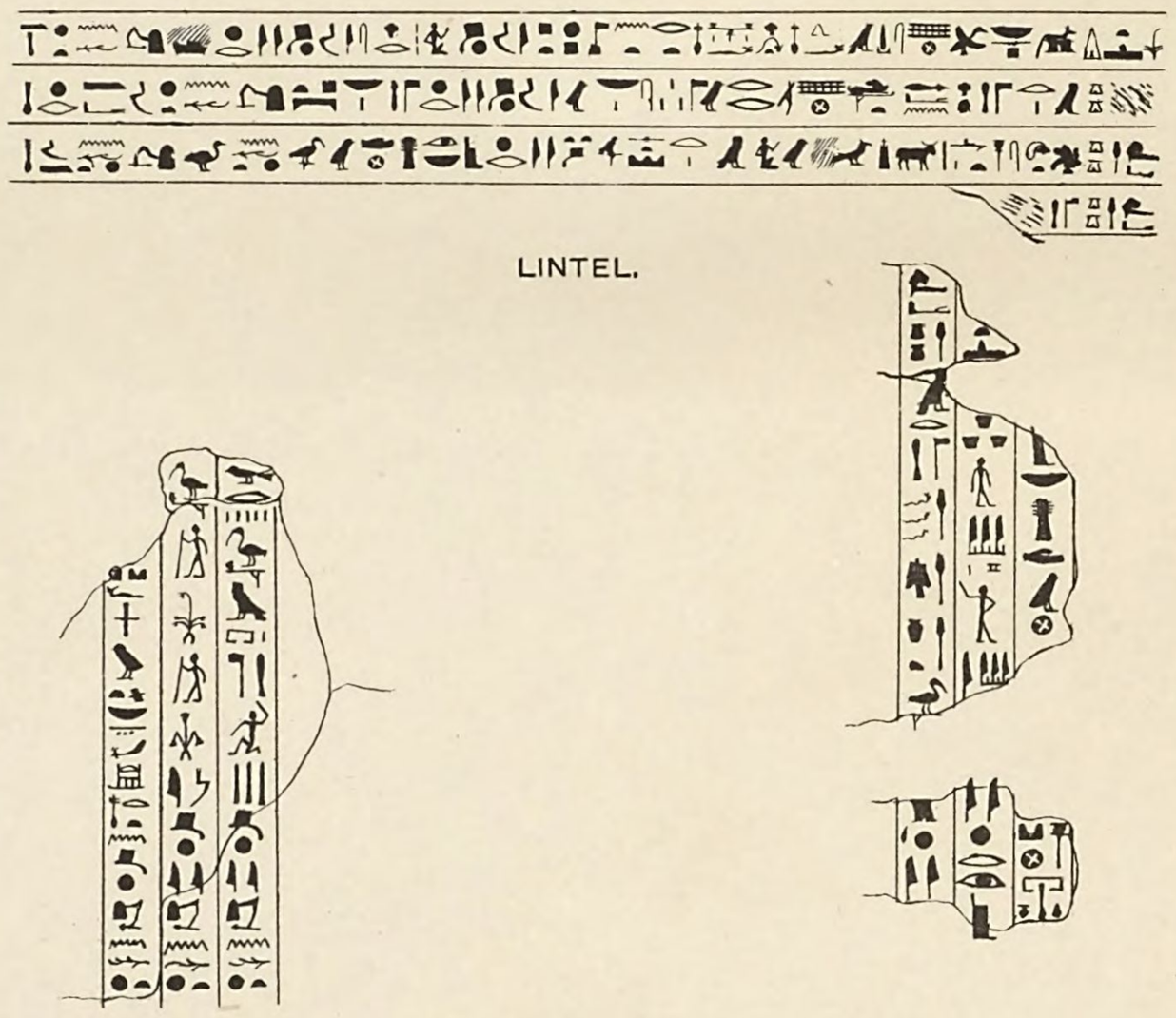


CROSS SECTION ON C.D.

PLANS AND SECTIONS.



LEFT SIDE.

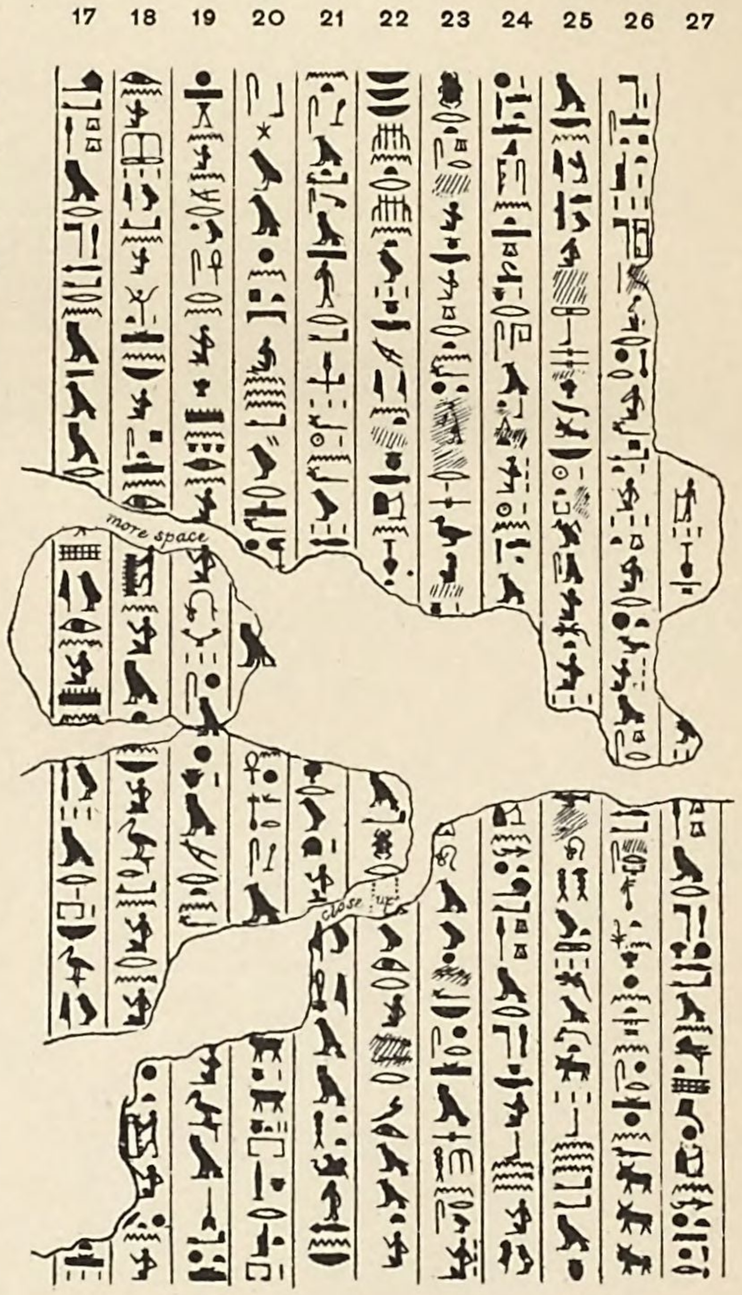


LINTEL.

Small seated figure of Ahanekht.

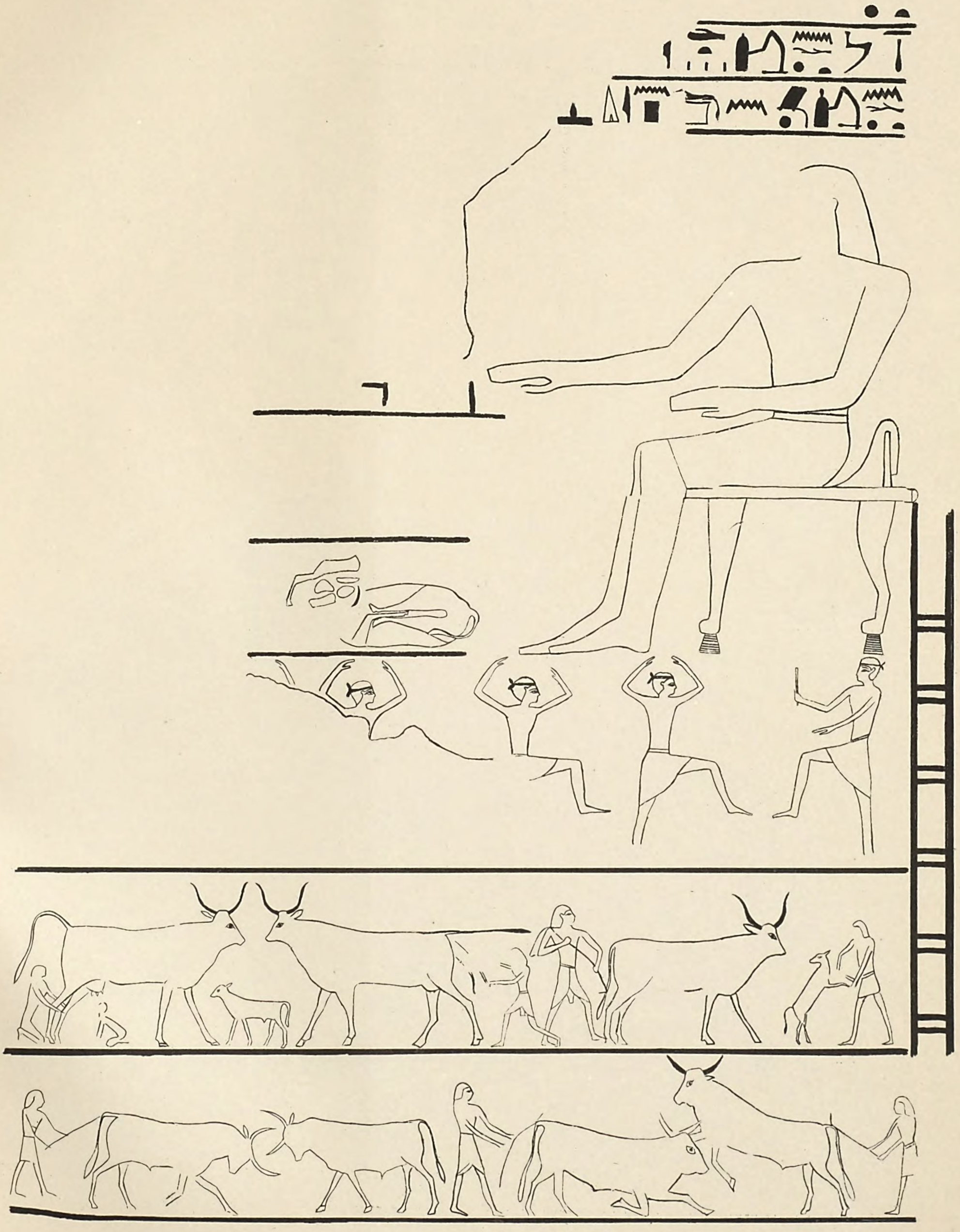
THICKNESS OF WALL.

THICKNESS OF WALL.



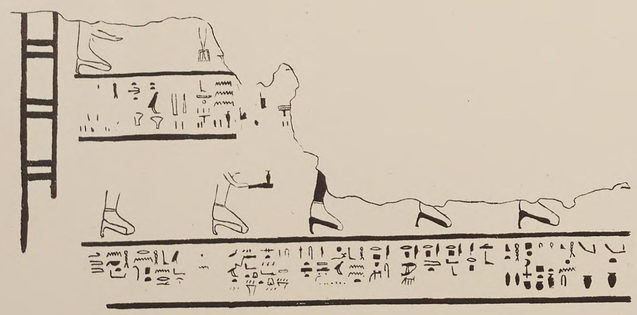
RIGHT SIDE.

INSCRIPTIONS IN AND AROUND THE ENTRANCE.

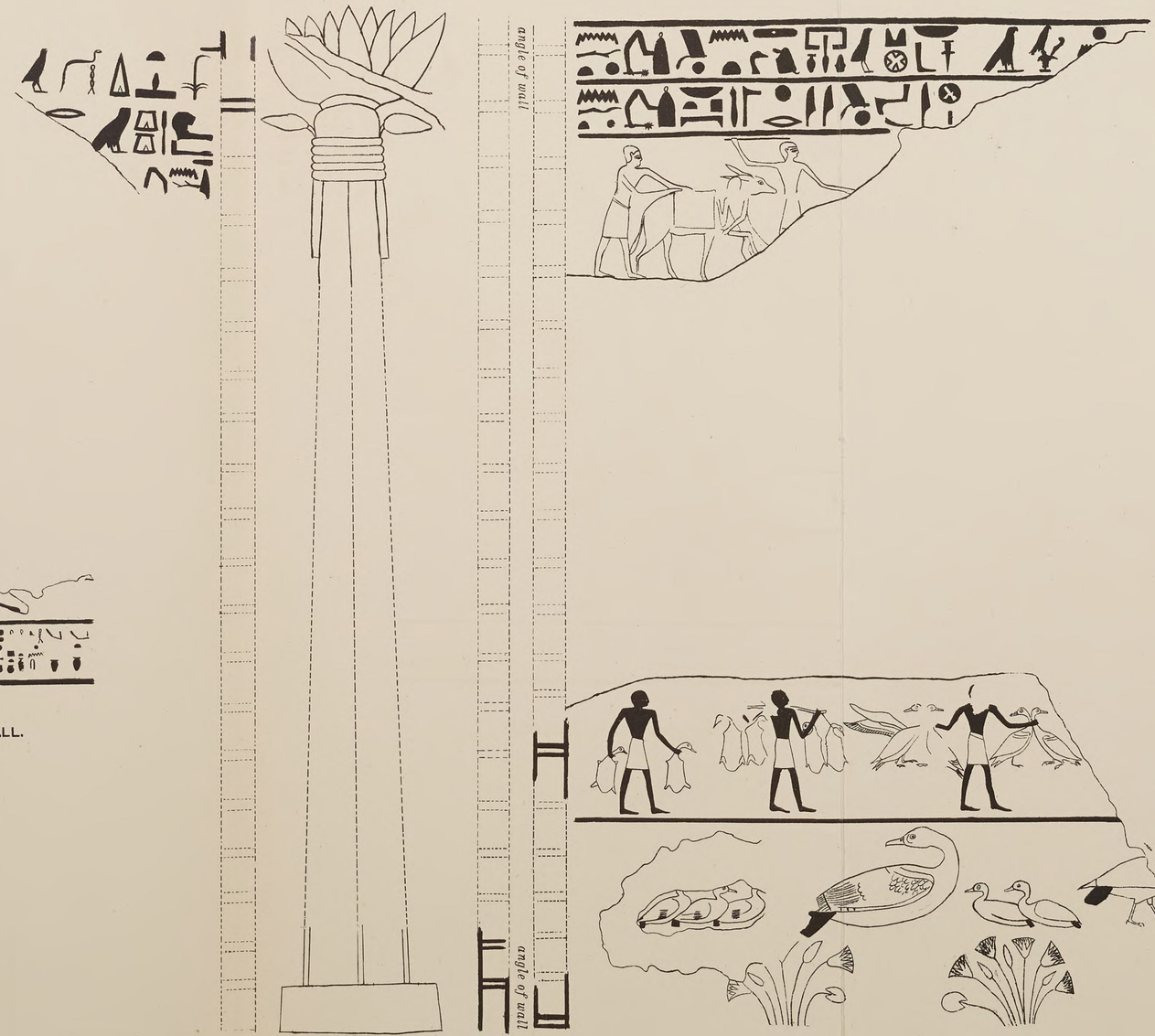


FIRST CHAMBER.

OUTER WALL.



FRAGMENT OF LEFT HAND END OF RIGHT HAND WALL.

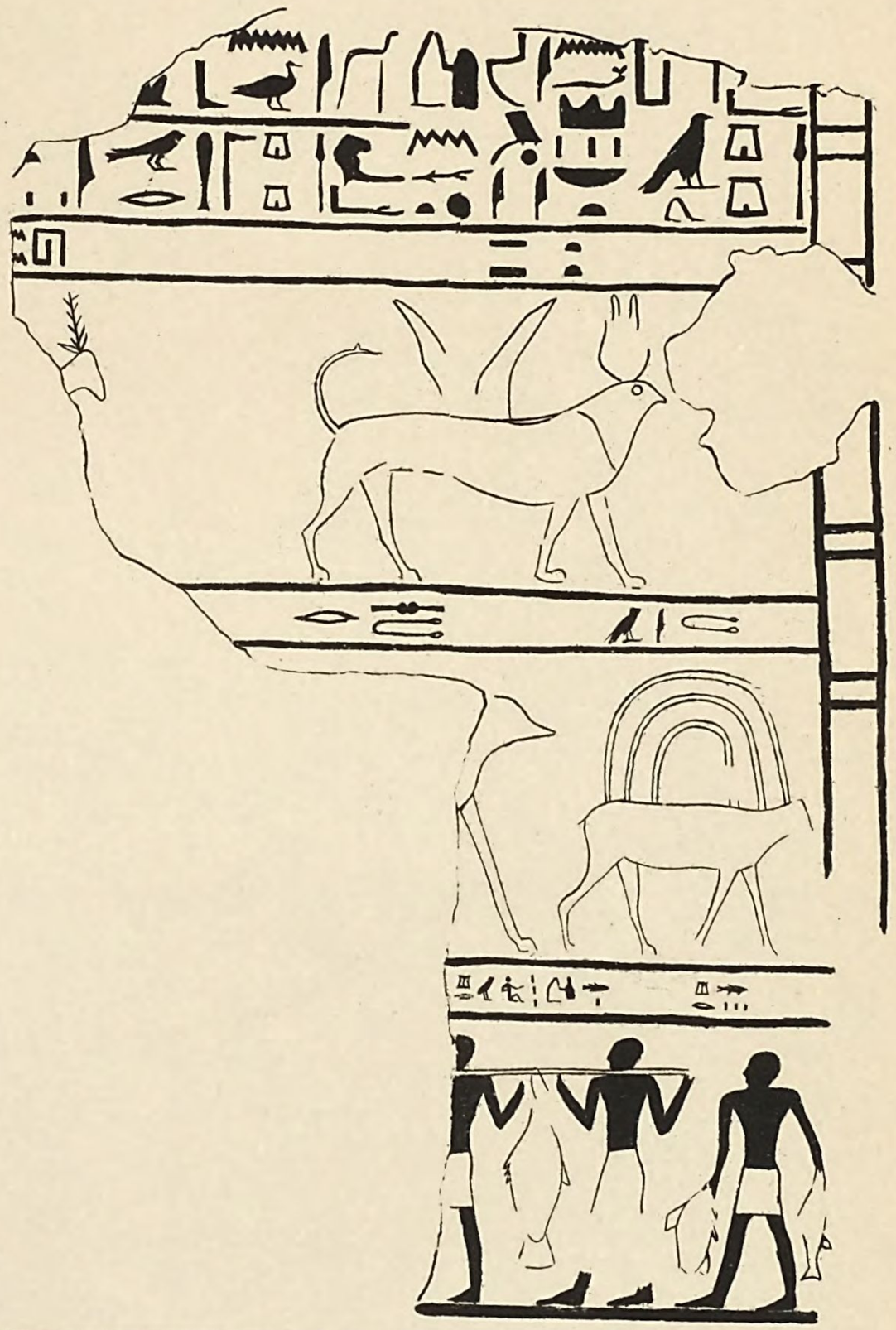


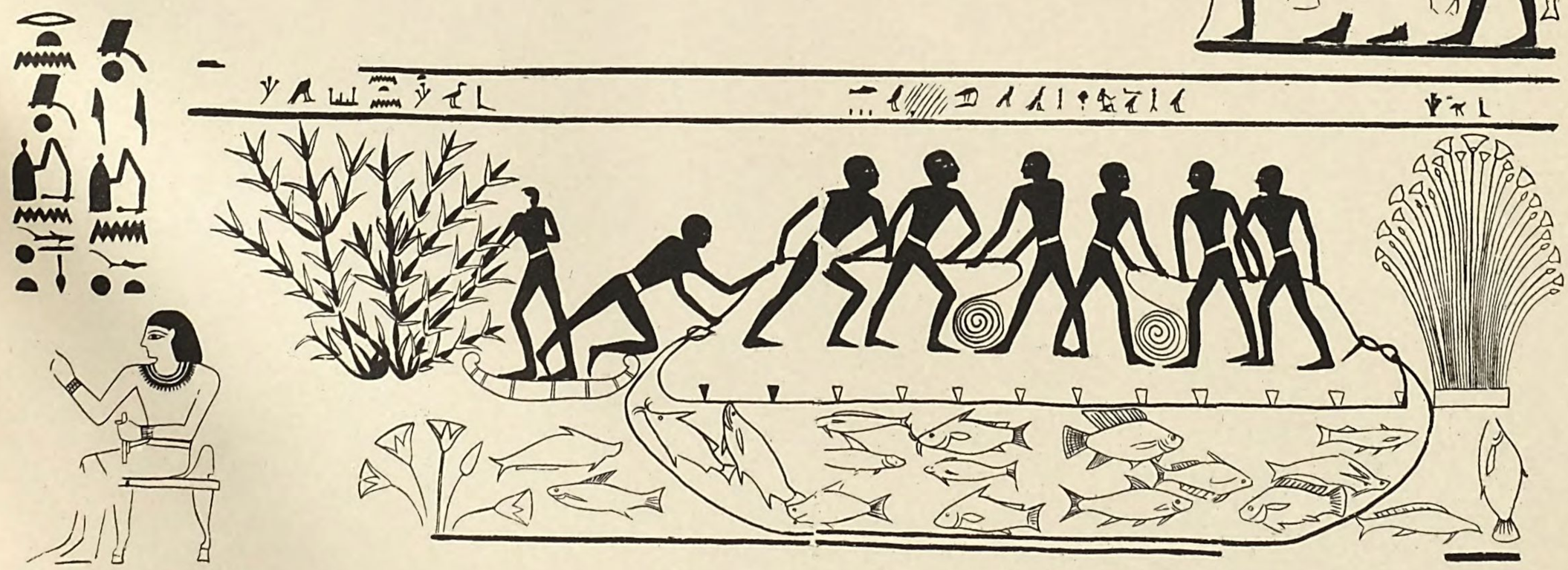
OUTER CHAMBER.

FRAGMENTS OF OUTER WALL (RIGHT SIDE) AND RIGHT HAND WALL.



ENTRANCE TO INNER CHAMBER.
THICKNESS OF WALL, RIGHT SIDE.





OUTER CHAMBER.
INNER WALL.

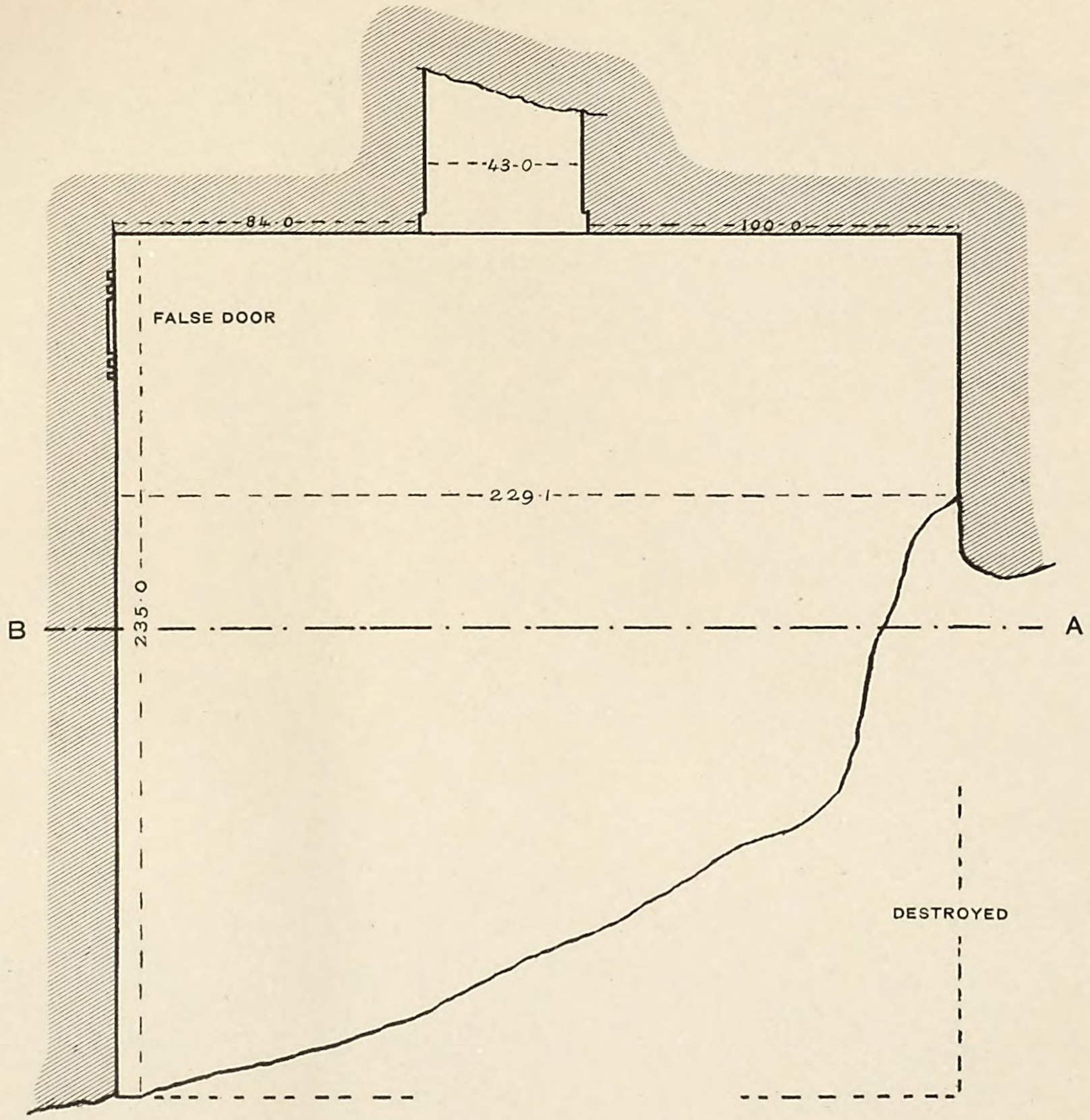


RIGHT HAND WALL.

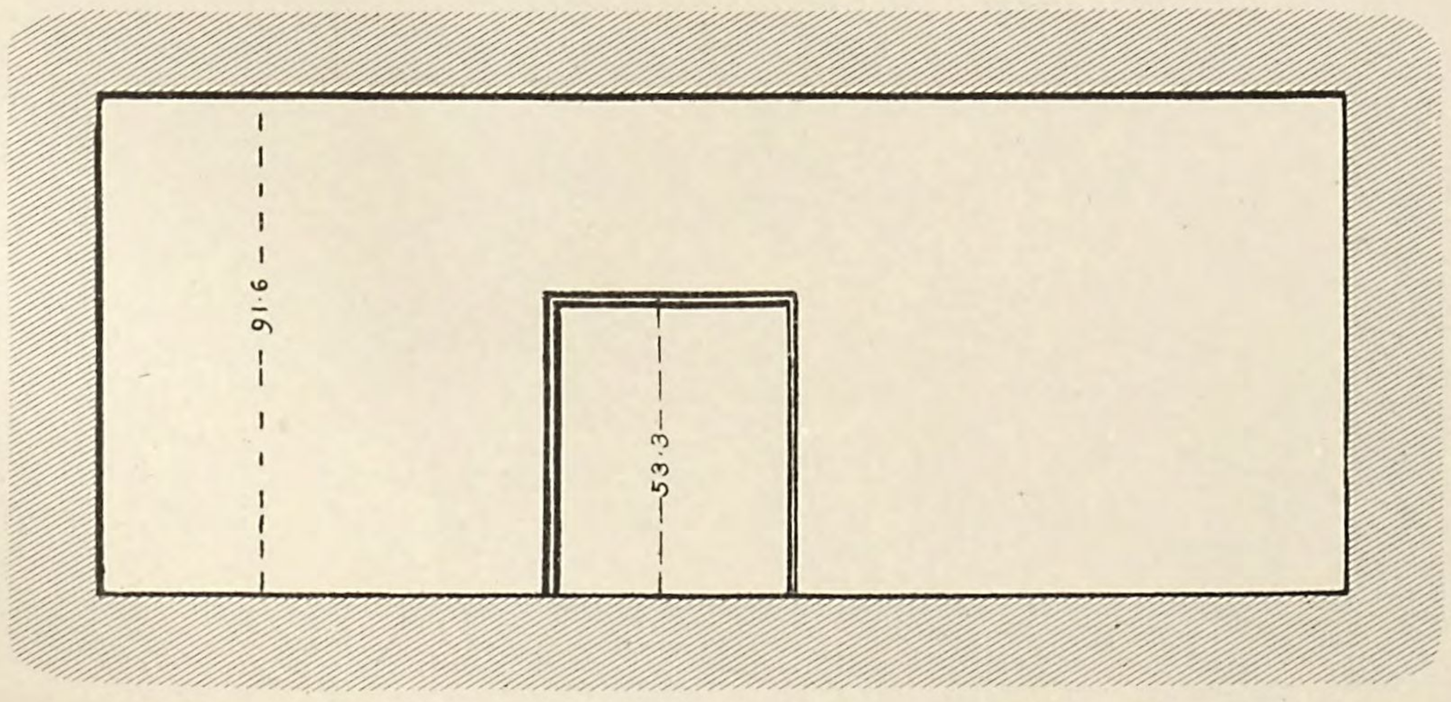


FRONT WALL, RIGHT SIDE.

INNER CHAMBER.

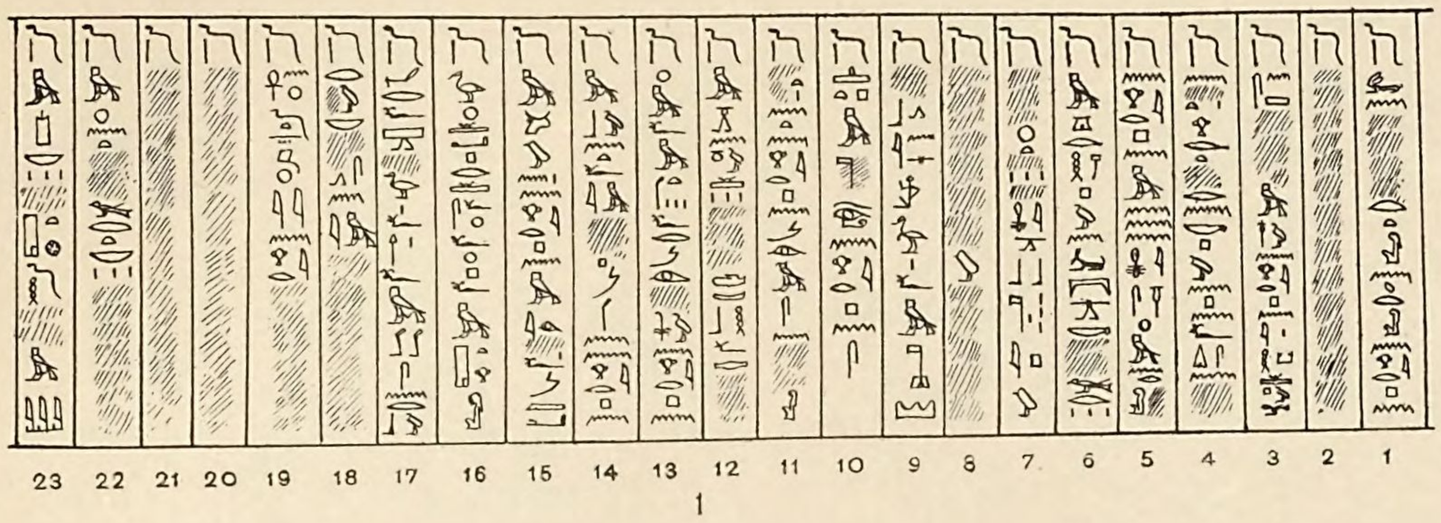


PLAN

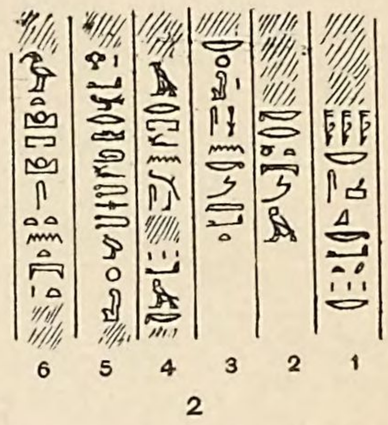


SECTION ON A.B.

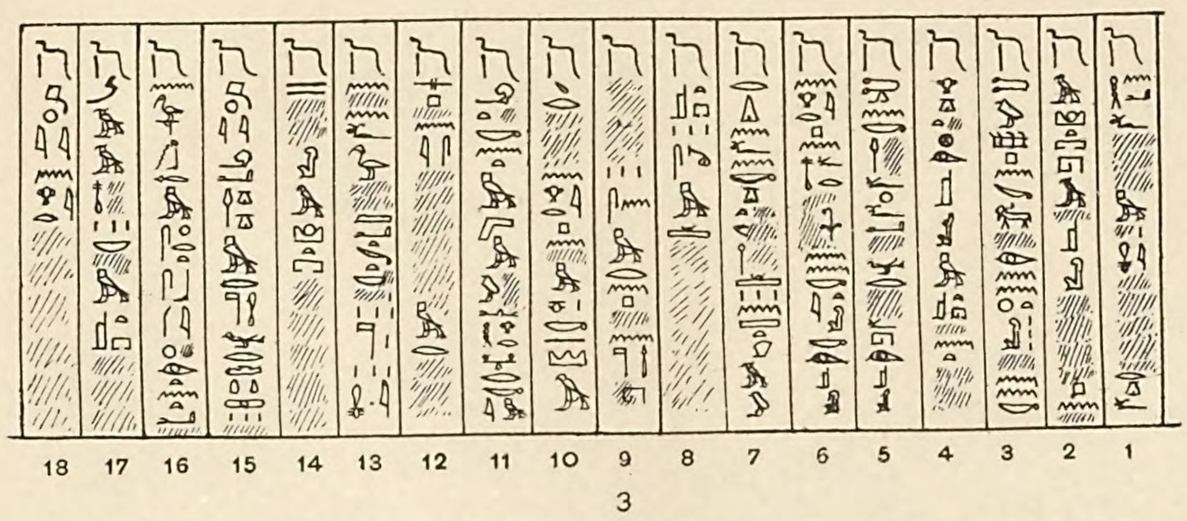
PLAN AND SECTION.



1



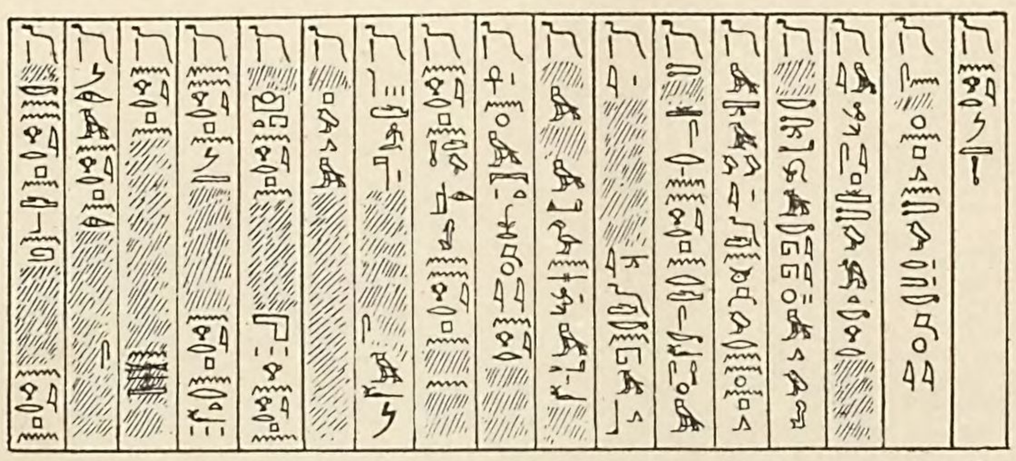
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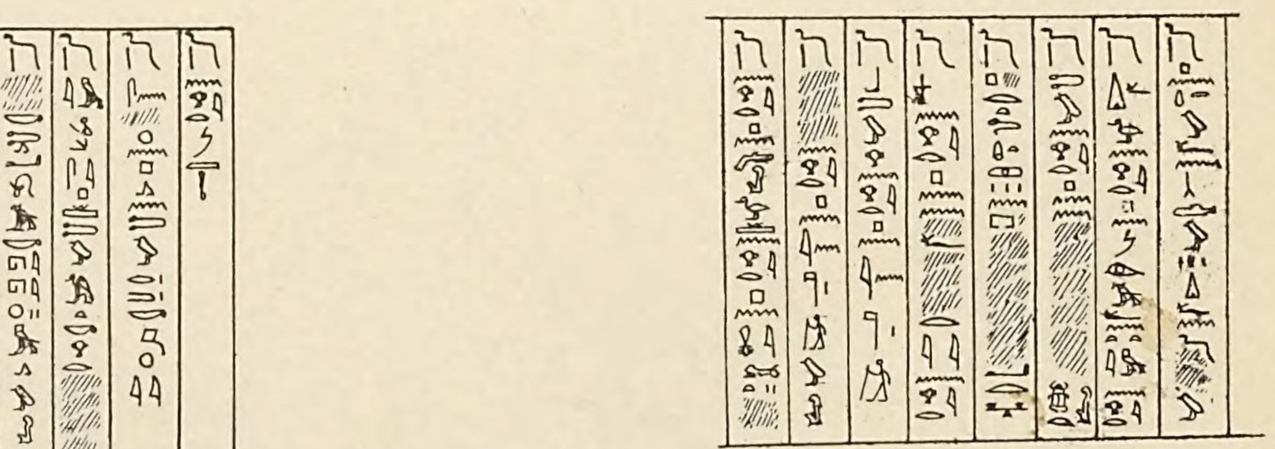
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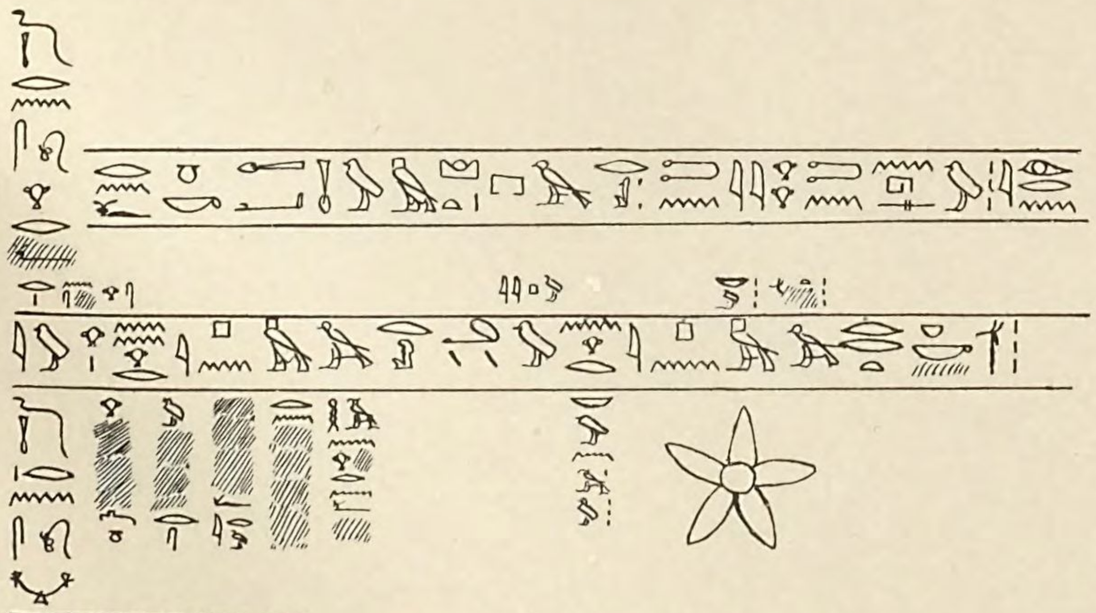
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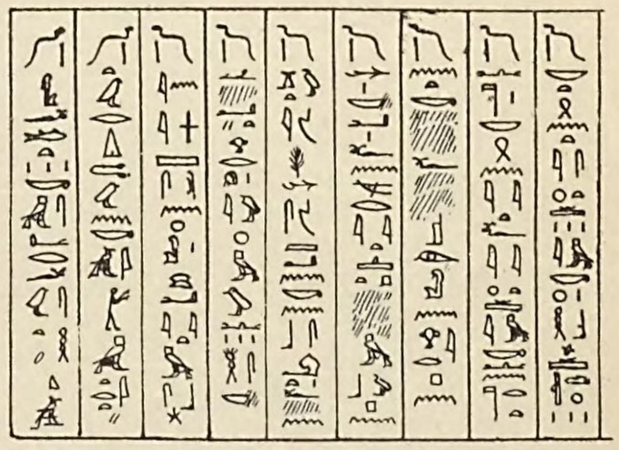
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6



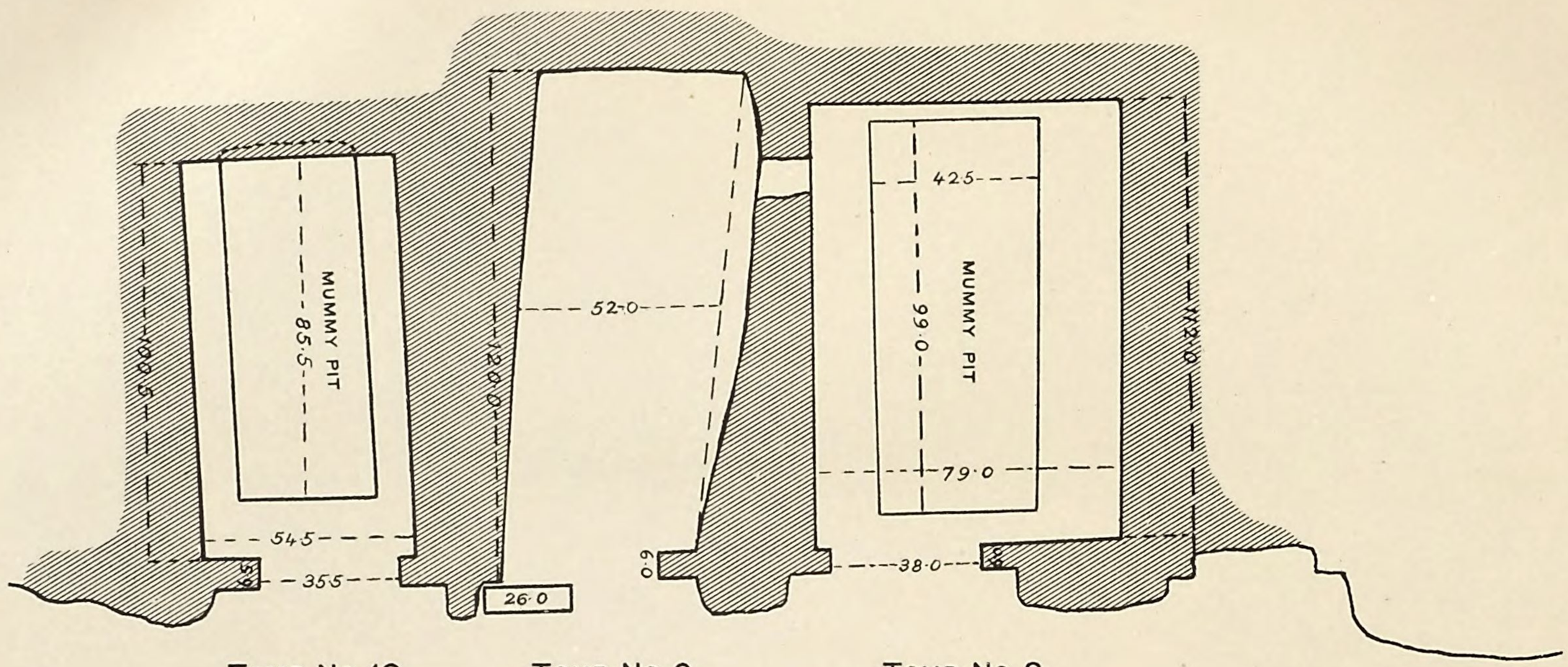
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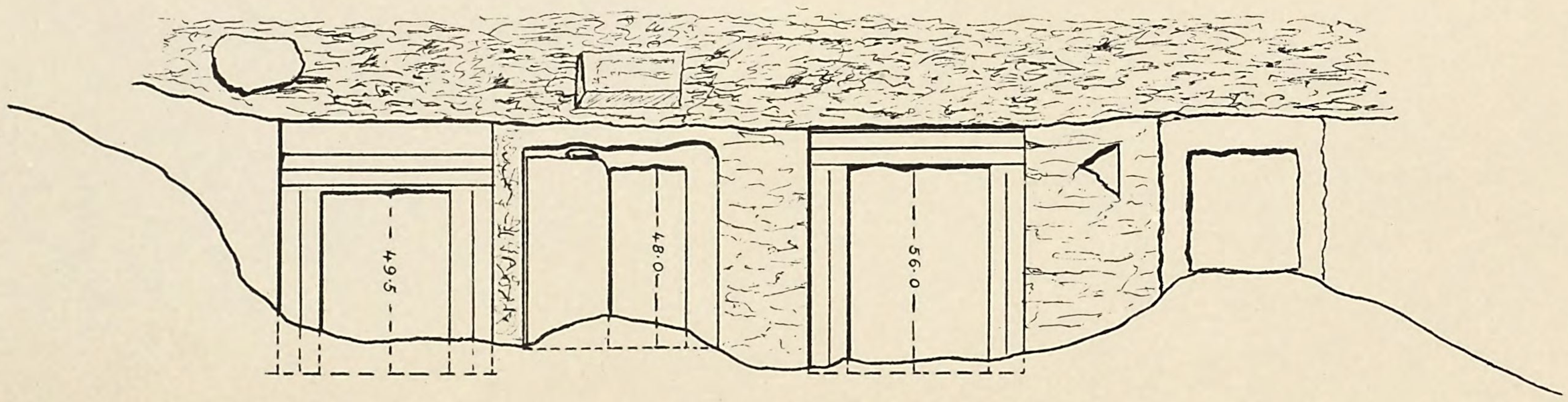
FRAGMENTS OF INSCRIPTIONS FROM CEILING.

TOMBS NOS. 8, 9, 10.



TOMB NO. 10. TOMB NO. 9. TOMB NO. 8.

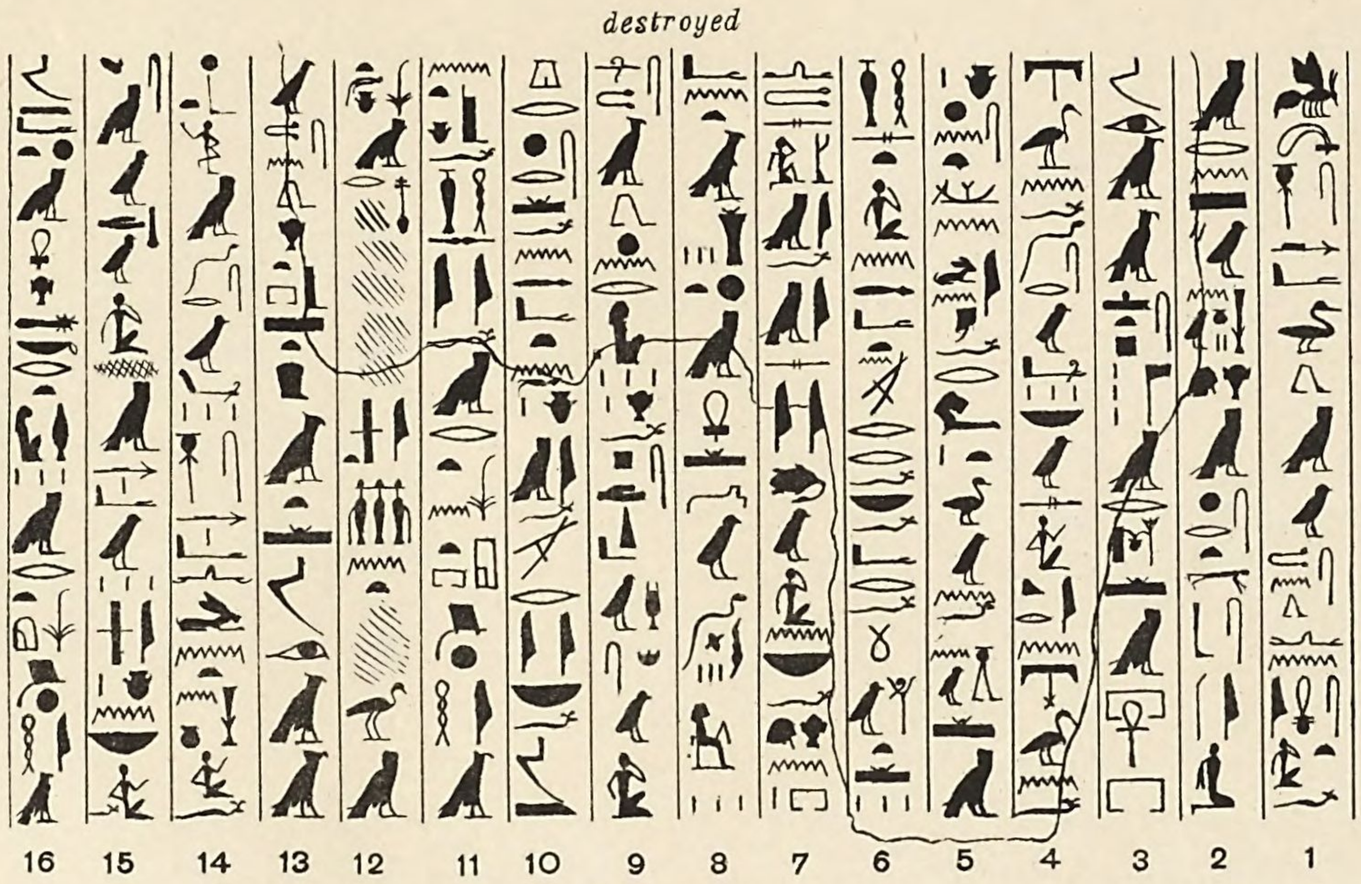
PLANS.



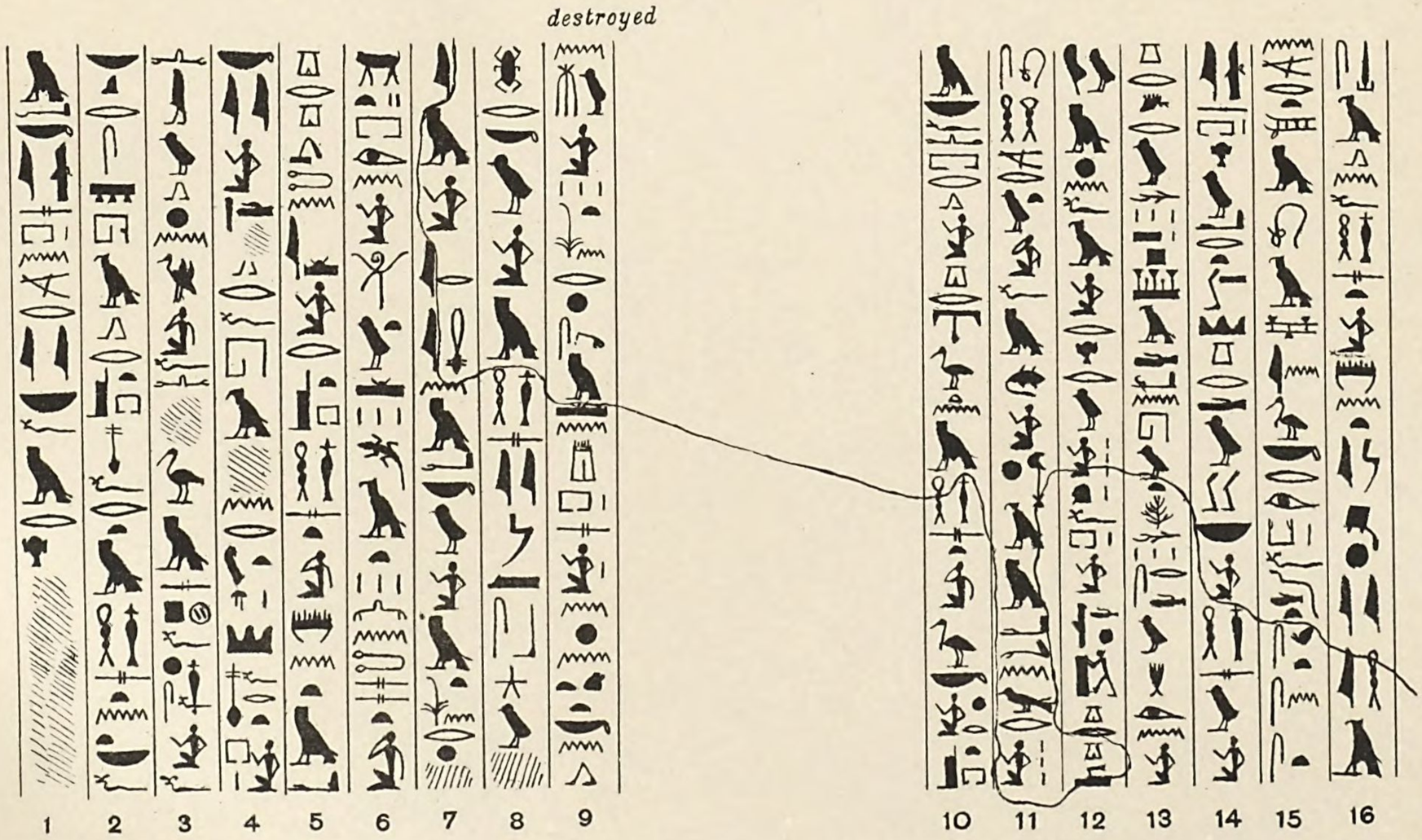
TOMB NO. 10. TOMB NO. 9. TOMB NO. 8.

ELEVATIONS.

PLAN AND ELEVATION.

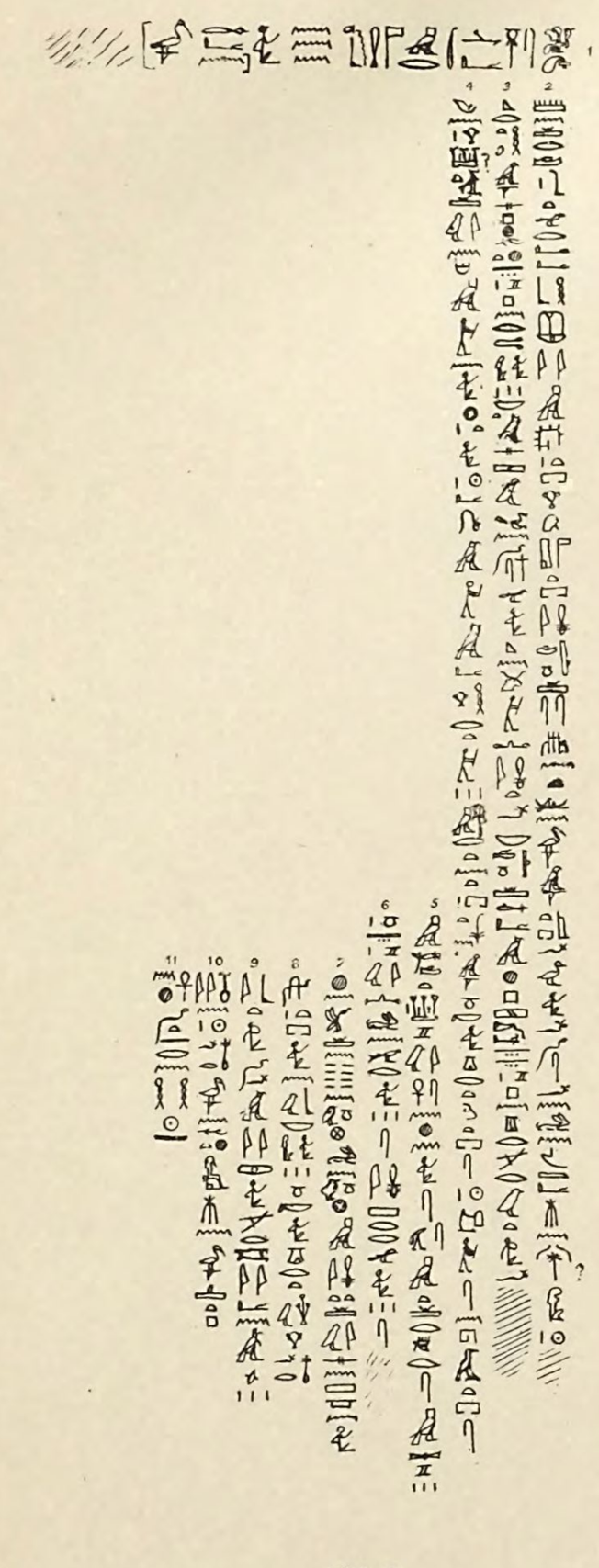


INSCRIPTION ON INNER WALL.

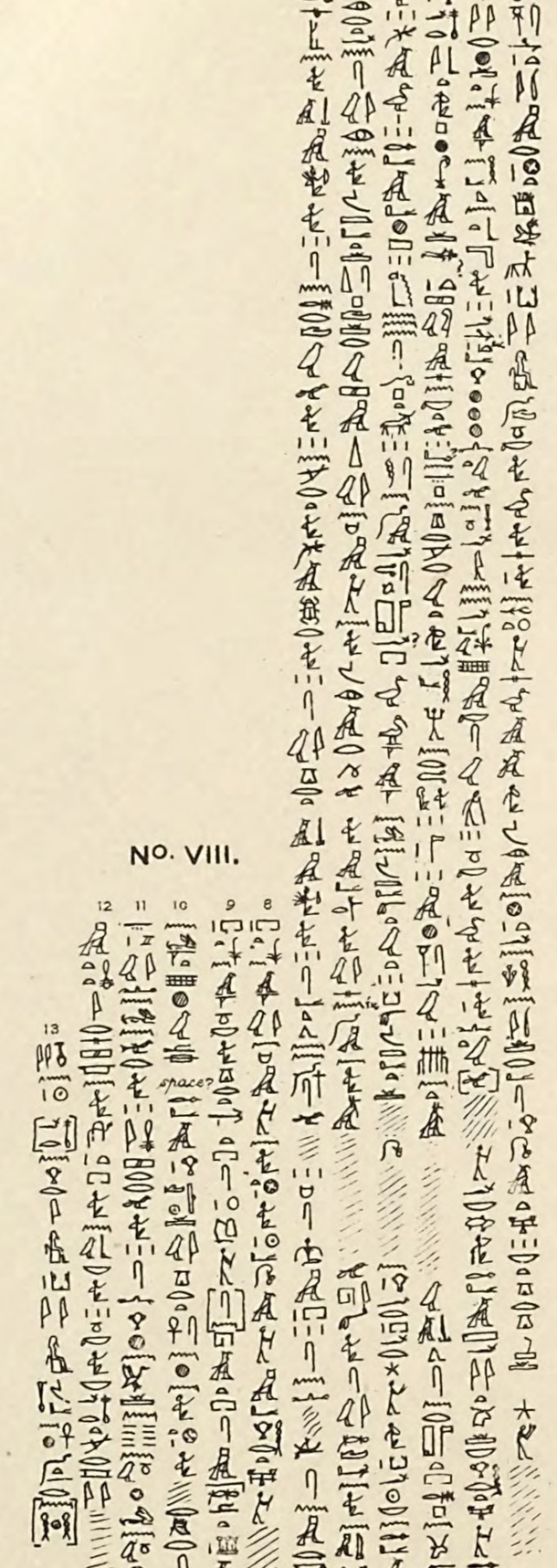


INSCRIPTION ON LEFT HAND WALL.

INSCRIPTIONS.

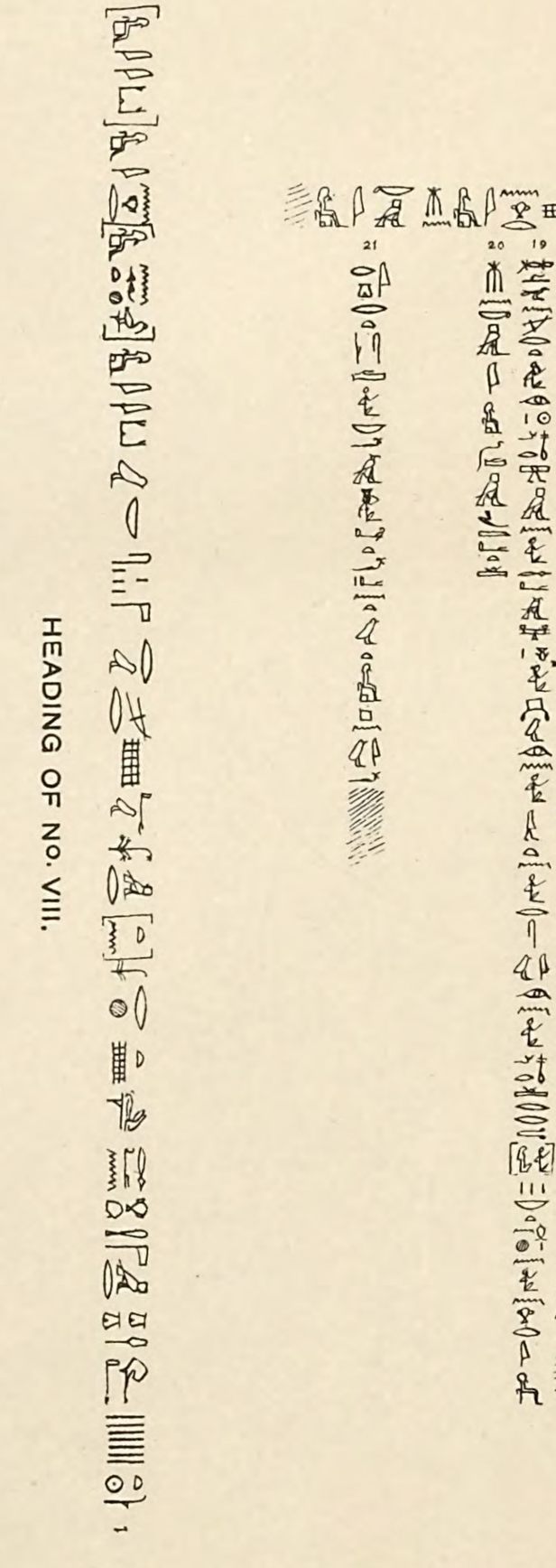


NO. I.



NO. VIII.

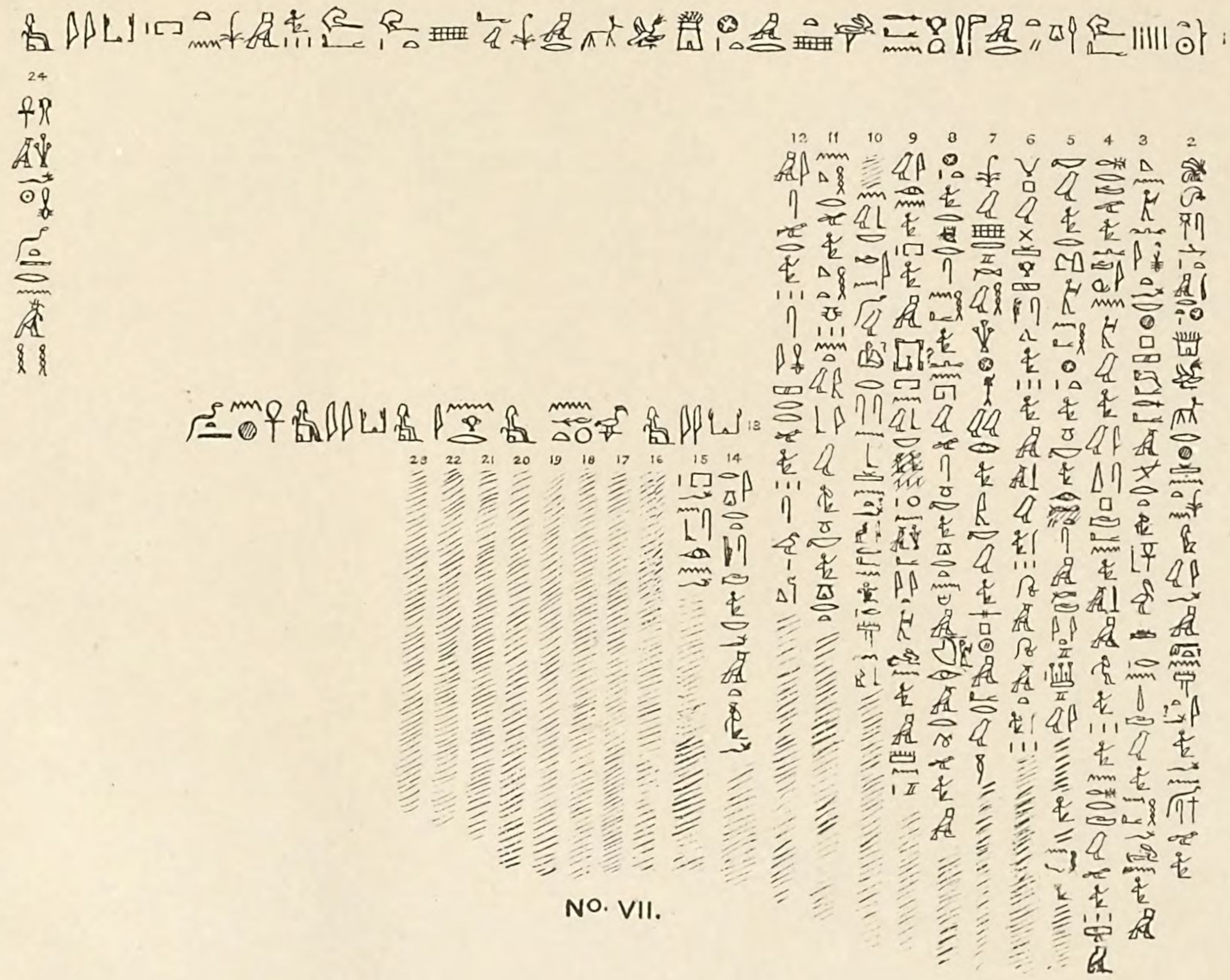
HEADING OF NO. VIII.



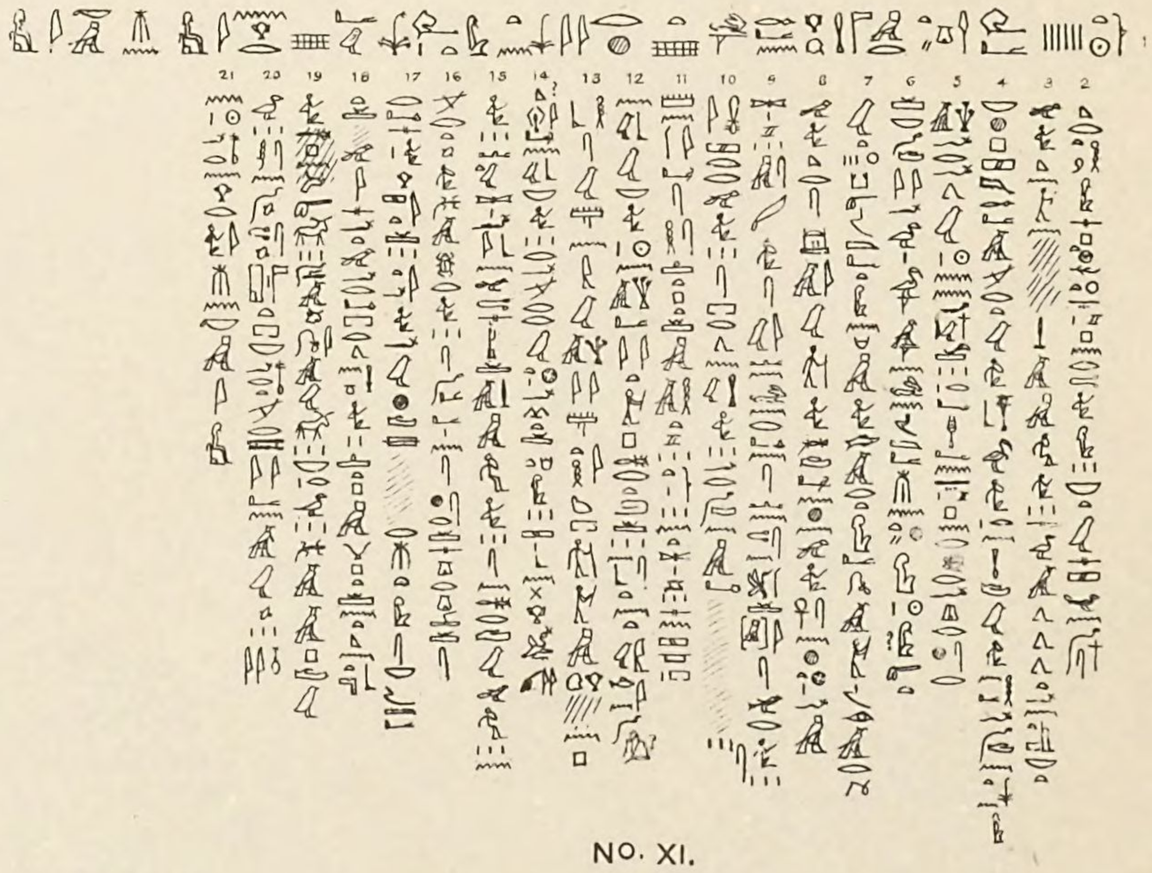
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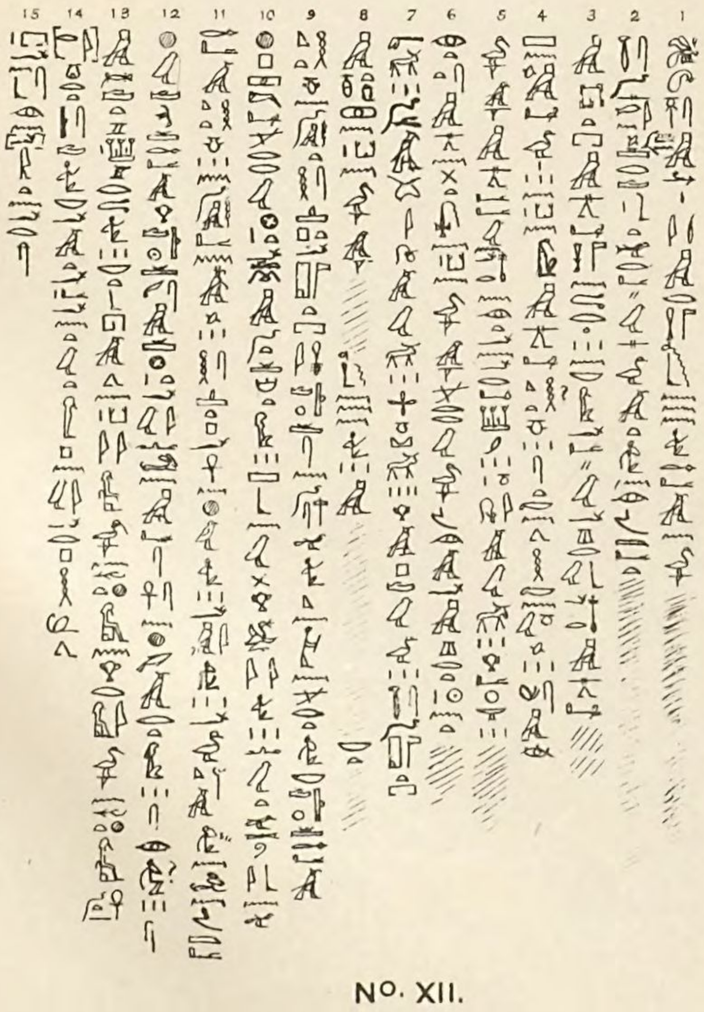
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